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Introduction

“...regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship.”¹

The globalised world challenges our lives (not only the active participant of globalisation in Western societies) by modern means of transport and modern means of communication in many different ways and shows its effect on various levels: financial, political, social, ecological, technical, legal, cultural and so on. However social scientists or economists may define the term ‘globalisation’, scientifically everybody agrees that globalisation as a process has accelerated in an unfamiliar mode since 1960 and changed the world.

In a time of a globalised world, western multicultural societies seem to be surrounded by a sense of crisis. The relationship between ethnic, religious and social communities is marked by tensions, topics such as immigration, visible difference, religious icons and a pervading fear of cultural and religious clash have been overdrawing western societies in particular since the last decades. In such a new cultural and economic global environment the idea of identity belongs inevitably to the current political and cultural discourse. Simultaneously in this times of change many question the role of national-states in the international relations and in the societal reality. The typical aspects of post-colonialism and globalisation are new global fluxes of populations, which once more blur the alleged self-contained and immutable cultural identity forms and transformed them into a fluid and uncertain construction. Nevertheless, the need for community and identification has been alive; some bring forward the argument that this tendency can be seen probably more than ever before.

In 2001, the US magazine Foreign Policy investigated all countries worldwide in regard to their ability to participate in the globalised world by calculating a “Globalisation Index”². In order to evaluate the degree of global integration, indicators such as information technology, finance, trade, ‘politics’ and personal communications were used. Surprisingly, considering

¹Anderson, B.: Imagined Communities, New York and London, 1983, p. 6-7

² http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2003/01/01/measuring_globalization_whos_up_whos_down?page=full

its long poverty phases and its late establishment of a democratic tradition, the Republic of Ireland, found itself at the top of the list. In other words, whatever the consequences of the financial crisis at the first decade of the 21st century may be, at the beginning of the new century Ireland was found to be the most globalised country in the world. In this specific survey the complex aspects of culture were not considered. This argument was followed immediately by critiques, their main stances were that contemporary Ireland can't be explained only by economic globalisation theories, but linkages between cultural and economic processes should be more highlighted.

Recent academic literature agrees on the assumption that culture and society both are inseparable ideas: there is no society without a culture nor a culture without a society. Some social theories even understand culture in a broader sense and assert that culture (not only national culture) is a source of legitimacy and power. Gordon Brown, the former prime minister of the UK, emphasized the importance of Britain's need for a strong national identity in order to get through the recession. Furthermore he warned of the danger that people define themselves by race or ethnicity. At the same time he was pointing out that rootedness and community should be basic features of every country not only to overcome the contemporary economic crisis, but also as key elements for a healthy and socially efficient working society.

Understandably, identity is not just about politics, looking at its definition first of all it refers to a common culture, to common traits and common customs. The need of identity or more to the point to a recognized identification not only pertains different social, ethnic and religious communities within different societies, but has become a serious concern for most post-industrial and multicultural societies. Those different identities needs compete not only within themselves with antagonism but also face to face with probably the most significant (because of its collectivity) identity form: national identity. National identity, one of the oldest identity forms has showed a surprisingly astonishing new resurrection.

At the basis of thesis lies the historical and political situation of Ireland since the time of its origin. The aim of this thesis is to research which impact nationalism has had for the creation of the Irish state up to the date when Ireland faced the entry to the EU and made part of European community. This work wants to examine how pronounced the nationalism in Ireland was during the last two centuries and at which time it became a subject of relevance on a political and sociological basis. In this context this paper highlights the meaning of

national identification for the legitimacy of the Irish state as a sovereign state and embedded in the EU. Of specific interest will be the question how and under which historical and political circumstance the national question in Ireland was posed. This work also tries to find answers to the following questions: Is the preservation of national identity important these days or is nationalism as a political ideology a phenomenon of the past? Do the globalisation and the Europeanization threaten the national identification of states or was nationalism only eminent as a support at the stage of the state-building process? How did the content of the native Irish national identity as a cultural identity change over the time and especially with the entry to the EU? What are the current contents of Irish national identity and by whom are they borne by at a time of a globalised world?

In the following chapter the details of the research question will be explored by defining the main points of relevance. Subsequently, the scientific questions will be centred concerning the importance of nationalism and national identification in the field of political science. The following chapters introduce to the subject of nationalism and its significance in the sciences by discussing various theories. Those theories on nationalism address the subject and its relevance in a historical-sociological context. The thesis then takes at centre stage the theory on nationalism of the philosopher and social anthropologist Ernest Gellner in order to examine in the final chapter the Irish nationalism in its different historical stages by the nation term coined by Gellner. The chapter "Ernest Gellner and his theory on nationalism" goes deeply into this subject by analysing his thought on the theme of nationalism. If one looks into the notion 'national identity' scientifically, it seems logically firstly to deal with the definition of 'identity' and then with its different specifications. Therefore, the reference to the definitions of the notions 'cultural identity' and 'national identity' seems relevant in order to make clear the general interrelation between culture/nation and communities/societies. The country Ireland will be illustrated by a political, economic, social and historical overview. Beginning with the commencement of the idea of nationality in Ireland, different argumentations on the subject made by various scientists or other authors are presented. The rise of the national question in Ireland will be investigated in four phases: the rise of the Irish national identity, the Irish national Identity in the context of Independence and creation of the Irish Free State, the Irish National Identity and the accession to the EU and the Irish National Identity in a global world. The conclusion should be an overview of the establishment of the concept of national identity in different historical periods up to the entry to the European Union to the present time. The thesis' purpose is not to cover the impact of the current financial and

economic crisis (which started 2008) on the Irish national identification. Finally, Gellner's theory on nationalism will be analyzed by the Irish case example.

Research inquiry

“On the one hand, it refers to a cultural identity which decides who has the right to belong to a nation, and what belonging means, and, on the other hand, to a political identity which decides what political rights of citizenship such belonging confers.”³

The political ideology of nationalism and national movements do not seem to be only a phenomenon of the 19th century and the modernity, nationalism and national claims remain on the political agenda up the present. Even though nationalism isn't a matter of course for the development of all populations and cultures, its actuality hasn't diminished. In the 50s and 60s of the 20th century, in terms of the intention of certain communities to create their own nation-state, nationalism appeared on the political agenda in the form of anti-colonial struggles in Africa and Asia and was linked to the ideas of modernization and development of those developing countries. With the collapse of communism, nationalism as a historical phenomenon and political ideology had a new heyday, even though it was also regarded as the new threat and danger to world peace. Thus, in the 90s, ethnic nationalism, flourished in post-communist Eastern and Central Europe. This was the case in former Yugoslavia and in the former Soviet Union, examples for states, which included many ethnic communities. Internal pressure for liberalization, the claim for cultural recognition and political-economical will to join the global capitalism led to the collapse of these former communist states.

Nationalism refers not only to a doctrine of legitimacy and mobilisation, its relevance for the society lies also in its integration character for the social community. Since the eighteenth century, national identity has been the most widespread form of cultural identity and it is still the most powerful cultural-political binding force of modernity⁴. National identity provides human population not only with common culture, symbols and values and sentiments of identity, the character of national identity also became institutionalized as a part of the social dimension of modernity. National identity refers to a collective belonging form, which constructs values and norms within the national social institutions and while doing so, it has its implications for the political practice and activity.

³ O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, Wiltshire, 2001, p. 3

⁴ www.polity.co.uk/global/pdf/GTReader2eTomlinson.pdf

From a political science perspective the question raises how nationalism as a political ideology and as initiator of social movements came into the picture. Nationalism since ever has meant the legitimate organization of the local community with a national regulatory. Relating to the research inquiry the thesis wants to put emphasise on the nationalism feature of the legitimacy doctrine by the example of the Irish state.

The history of Ireland offers very particular proceedings in contrast to many other European countries: Ireland reached its political independence in 1921 as a consequence of an 700-year lasting colonial occupation and over a century lasting secessionism battle and has been a member of the Europe Union since 1973. The research question of this paper first of all focuses on the significance of nationalism for the creation process of the Irish state: which requirements made it possible that Ireland could request its self-determination. Was nationalism a relevant characteristics or just a random appearance on the political parquet? Given the fact, that Irish nationalism played a significant role in the history for the Irish state – building process, this work investigates how and under which political and socio-cultural conditions the Irish national identification evolved. The long and suffering colonial oppression marked the history of Ireland in an incredible manner, thus it seems of specific interest to question about the pool of ideas, meaning resources and symbolic matters of fact on which the Irish nationalism could rely during the historical stages. Hence, his thesis wants to highlight the various contents of national identity put into the limelight by different actors?

Based on the theory that the Irish nationalism supported not only the state-building process, but also provided the legitimacy of the newly founded Irish state, a second important question arises: who have been the social carries of nationalism in Ireland: literary, artistic or historic interests, intellectuals or elites, or national mass movements which were led by intellectuals. Thirdly, this paper examines questions about the historical circumstances at the time when those claims became relevant and how they interrelated with each other. Regarding to the Irish entry to the EU, this paper investigates the content of the Irish national identity in the European frame in which the state-owned legitimacy and authority has to be shared with the supranational institutions of the EU. How did the entry to the EU change the national identity in Ireland. In this context, it also seems necessary to ask about the relationship between the Irish national identity and probably a new post- national identity, which refers to a new political and economical horizon shaped by supranational and global institutions. Finally, the

inquiry about the current content and pillars on which the Irish national identity relies on should occupy the centre stage.

The basis of this thesis will be constituted by the theory of nationalism by Ernest Gellner as mentioned above in the introduction chapter. From this it follows that the Irish nationalism doctrine also will be analysed by the thoughts of Gellner on the subject. In a concluding résumé the relevant questions will be commented in a summary assessment. The applied method of this scientific paper will be a literature analysis whereby this thesis is based not only scientific literature but also on popular literature, speeches and declarations of various sorts. In order to be able to answer the scientific question, spreadsheets and tables will be used.

Theories on nationalism

*"Nationalism is too diverse to allow a single theory to explain it all. Much of the content and specific orientation of various nationalisms is determined by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative actions of leaders, and contingent situations within the international world order."*⁵

Understanding 'nationalism' is only possible if there is a clear distinction from other concepts like 'nation', 'nation-state' or 'nation-building', because all four terms refer to a different content. While in the following the paragraphs nationalism occupies centre stage, it makes sense to introduce to the concepts 'nation', 'nation-state' and 'nation-building'. The modern nation-state was in its beginning not a nation at all,

*"...but ...an 'imperial' conquest of one nationality- usually at the 'centre' of the resulting country, and based in the capital city- over other nationalities at the periphery..."*⁶

Today the term 'nation-state' refers to multiple meanings and associations. First of all it has to be indicated that in contemporary English the two notions 'state' and 'nation' are used interchangeably, even though they have different meanings. The composed notion 'nation-state' illustrates the territorial compliance of a nation and the political system. In Max Weber words the nation-state is defined as "die weltliche Machtorganisation der Nation."⁷. The 'nation-state' therefore combines the idea of a historical, political or cultural determined solidarity collective with the principle of a territorial dominance, the recognition of the public use of force and other societal conflict regulations. In contrast to 'nation-state' the term 'nation' indicates to the Latin word *natio*, which means birth, sex, population and its definition is dependent on the historical theoretical frame. As said above in regard to 'nation identity', nation can be defined as community of people who have a feeling of belonging based on a common ethnicity, language, culture or political system. The notion 'nation-building' is a specific terminology for the process or the result of the founding of a 'nation-state' or a 'nation'.

⁵ Calhoun, Craig: Nationalism, Concepts in the social sciences, Buckingham, 1997, p. 123

⁶ Rothbard, M.: Nations by consent: Decomposing the nation-state, Rio de Janeiro, 1993, p.2

⁷ Nohlen, Grotz : Kleines Lexikon der Politik, München, 2001, p.346

Nationalism as a phenomenon of the European World and its colonies in America became not only a scientific, but also political and socio-cultural question in the middle of the 19th century. Some sources speak about the development of the nation by relating to the modern state and the claim of popular sovereignty at the time of the French and American Revolution, which culminated with the ethnic/ national revolutions in Europe. Only at the time when nationalism and nation developed to successful entities in the Western world, both spread out to other countries and continents. Since 1871 Europe has been divided into nation- states, whereas the reason for the emergence of those single nation-states had respectively different background at the time. In this context, several questions arise in the academic field in regard to nationalism: Why did nationalism become so important and meaningful in the 19th century (some speak in this regard about a new substitute religion or secular religion)? Why did nationalism come into existence only in the occident? Why did nationalism become such a successful export product, even though the recipient countries showed entirely other socio-cultural and political conditions?

First of all before answering the questions above it seems important for the understanding of the subject matter 'nationalism' to highlight its role in the sciences. Looking to relevant literature it strikes that only in the 60s of the last century nationalism became the focus of the social sciences. Before this date, historians and scholars of international relations were the first to actually research on the topic 'nationalism' whereby their main objective was to understand nationalism as an ideology rather than its rise and spread. The early researches on nationalism came to the conclusion that the nation was a natural entity of the European history, which is justified to possess its own state. Furthermore it has to be stated that the nation once transformed to a state shapes a values systems to legitimate the state. Thus, those early investigations postulate that it was the nation, which engendered nationalism⁸. Then, in the 60s Deutsch, Gellner, Kedourie and Smith (in the 70s) started to publish their works on nationalism (referring mainly to rise and spread of nationalism and by developing historical - sociological theories), a new turning point occurred in the 80s with the writings of Anderson, Greenfield, Llobera, Guibernau and again Gellner. The current post-classical writers on nationalism tend to view 'nationalism' as a discourse and are less interested in creating historical- and sociological theories on the subject.

⁸ Wehler, H. :Nationalismus, München 2001, p. 7-8

The notion 'nationalism' indicates to a broad spectrum of meanings, the term often seem to be associated with different additions: ethnic nationalism (nation is defined in terms of an unchanged and always valid ethnicity), civic nationalism (nation defined as state whose political legitimacy derives from the active participation of its citizenry), romantic and cultural nationalism (the state's legitimacy derives from the unity or culture of those it governs), pan-nationalism (defines political claims on the basis of a cluster of cultures and ethnic groups), diaspora nationalism, stateless nationalism. According to Calhoun, the 'debate formation' nationalism⁹ and/or the ideology nationalism need to be classified in three dimensions: nationalism as a debate, nationalism as a project and nationalism as an evaluation. The first dimension of nationalism obviously refers to nationalism as a rhetoric, which shapes our consciousness in order to understand and think of the world in terms of the notions 'nation' and 'national identity'. Nationalism as a project includes nationalism as a social movements or state policies which try to build nations in order to declare national self-determination concerning autonomy, independence or amalgamation of territories. Thirdly, nationalism in terms of evaluation means nationalism as an ethical imperative, claiming the domination of a specific nation. Generally, it can be said that relevant academic literature defines nationalism as ideology, which permits mobilisation and integration to a solidary group (in the tradition of an ethnic community also called nation). Nationalism therefore can be simply understood as an ideology which helps to create, mobilize and integrate a solidarity union and in particular to legitimate modern political authority.

Scientifically approached, concerning the rhetoric of nation usually the following features are listed:

- Boundaries of territory, population, or both
- Indivisibility: means that 'nation' is to be understood as an integral unit
- Sovereignty and formal equality with other nations
- Legitimacy
- Participation of the national membership in state affairs
- Direct and equivalent membership whereby the individuals are to be understood as a part of the nation
- Shared culture, language, beliefs and values
- Continuity of the nation over a period of time, including past and future generations

⁹ q.v. Michael Foucault : L'archéologie du savoir, Paris, 1969, p. 34

- Same descent and/or racial features
- Particular relationship between the population of a nation and the territory¹⁰

Reflecting nationalism means also to encounter different typologies of nationalism, which are probably as old as theories on nationalism. Wehler speaks about four different typologies in regard to different historical stages: nationalism which evolved through intrastate revolutions like in England, Northern America and France, a 'unification'-nationalism which connected divided territories and ethnic communities to a nation as in Germany and Italy (Ferdinand Tönnies in this context used the terminology of *Kulturnation* to describe communities with the same objective qualities, such as history, language and culture)¹¹, a secessionist nationalism, which emerged after the World War I in 1918 by the collapse of the multinational empires and a transfer – nationalism, which copied the European-American model and delivered to other ethnic communities and colonies like in Africa, Japan and China.¹²

There are several theories concerning the explanation of the origin of nations or different models, which try to give explanation to the process of nation making. Among all the perspectives, the primordial or essentialist view and the constructivist or instrumentalist view are the two most important theoretical approaches to nationalism. While primordialism or essentialism maintain that nations are organically grown entities, constructivism or instrumentalism (among whose major representatives Benedict Anderson can be numbered) believes that nations are:

- the product of structural change
- the project of elites
- a debate of domination
- a bound community of exclusion and opposition¹³

Concerning nationalism as a product of structural change, in literature one finds the reference to nationalism as a result of modernization, industrialization and advanced capitalism.

¹⁰ q.v. Calhoun, Craig: Nationalism, Concepts in the social sciences, Buckingham, 1997, p. 4-5

¹¹ It were above all German and Italian cultural groups, which promoted the idea of the nation creation, though they had to face the fact, that only a small population agreed with their national will of the building of a state. Another problem arose by the non uniform language (in Italy, only two percent of the population spoke the Italian language) which became standardized by state-sponsored literacy drives and public schooling: in: Babitt, Hannum: Negotiating Self-Determination, 2005, p.10

¹² Wehler, H.: Nationalismus, München 2001, p.51-52

¹³ Herb, Kaplan: Nested Identities, Nationalism, Territory and Scale, Maryland and Oxford, 1999, p. 14

Nationalism as a debate about domination implies studying nationalism by grappling with hegemonic political ideologies such as imperialism, racism and gender roles. In the following, I will present the main theoretician concerning the debate about nationalism.

Some theoreticians, like for instance Schleiermacher, believe that nations are something basic and natural, in the sense that the division of the human race and its specific features is characterized through the difference of the nationalities. For Michael Hechter¹⁴, one of the world's foremost sociologists on nationalism, nationalism emerged when technical developments made it possible to claim political and nationalistic activities, which aimed at specific boundaries of a nation. Charles Tilly, an American sociologist, political scientist and historian, comes to the conclusion that, generally, many of the nations were made through wars, in the sense that wars organized territories by involving them in financing the war and collaborating with the king¹⁵. For Wheler nationalism is to be understood as an ideology whose object is to create, mobilize and integrate a solidarity group and to provide legitimacy to modern political authority¹⁶. In the following three authors of different nationalism strands will be presented: Benedict Anderson, Anthony Smith and Eric Hobsbawm.

One of the most popular theoreticians who disagree with the primordial and essentialist view on nationalism is Benedict Anderson. In his book *Imagined Communities* (published 1983) he suggests (following case studies of colonialism in Latin America and Indonesia and reconciling theories of Marxism and nationalism) that nationalism is the modern counterpart to kinship meaning that in modern times nationalism, in connection with the rise of capitalism, has represented the catalyser to provide the population a membership in an imperishable collective. Anderson, whose approach is constructivistic, shies away from numbering nationalism among the political ideologies. He thinks the origin of the creation of nations is rooted in older artefacts of religious communities, meaning that nations, according to Anderson, are nothing else than imagined communities, because

*“...all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact...are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined...”*¹⁷

¹⁴ q.v. Hechter, M.: *Containing Nationalism*, 2000, Oxford, p.1-3

¹⁵ q.v. Tilly C.: *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, AD 990-1992, 1990, p. 42.43

¹⁶ Wehler, H.: *Nationalismus*, München, 2001, p.13

¹⁷ Anderson, B.: *Imagined Communities*, London and New York, 1991, p.5f in : Balakrishnan, Gopal: *Mapping the nation*, New York, 1996, p. 203

In this way, nations are not a product determined by sociological conditions; they have to be imagined by a community, imagined both in a limited and sovereign way. The notion 'limited' in this case refers to nationalism, which does not include all the members of the human race and 'sovereign' in the sense that nationalism can be seen as rooted in the ideas of Enlightenment and the French Revolution. National identity grew out of this specific consciousness: to imagine the community in a manner so that it was inevitably related to societal integration and social class. In the time of the demise of the predominance of the Catholic Church through the Reformation and the era of Enlightenment and in particular by the developing of mass-production techniques in the 15th century, the 'print-capitalism' cultivated the single vernacular and the awareness of own nationality within multi-ethnic empires, above all in the course of the 19th century, in a kind of philological-lexicographic revolution:

*"...the convergence of capitalism and print-technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation. The potential stretch of these communities was inherently limited, and, at the same time, bore none, but the most fortuitous relationship to existing political boundaries..."*¹⁸

For Anderson, nationalism cannot be understood as an ideology of political science, but a society's tool for imagining their community in altered conditions, altered mainly by technology. By contrast, from a classical Marxist point of view, nationalism is only an instrument for the bourgeoisie in order to support and cement their ideological thought by stabilizing the society through it.

Other intellectuals stress that nationalism, rather than just being a feature of modernity, should be regarded as a result of enduring and everlasting ethnic identities. Anthony D. Smith who can be numbered among these intellectuals as well as Geertz (1963) and Hutcheson (1994). For them the nation can be viewed neither as a pure phenomenon of modernity, nor as a natural division of the population. For Smiths, nations arose from ethnic communities (its myths, values, and symbols which represented their common origin and descent) and its reference to the territory where law and legal institutions could rule over the ethnic

¹⁸ Anderson, Benedict: *Imagined Communities*, London and New York, 1991, p.46

community. Smith's concept of the ethnic community is comparable in its content with the claim of the cultural nation by the German Romanticism. For the German Romanticist (in particular Gottfried von Herder and Gottlieb Fichte) the term *Volk* symbolized a nation or a population, which had a common language, religion, culture and customs. Hence, nationalism in this regard emphasizes culture understood and based on linguistic cultural identity as the main source of the creation of a nation-state. Hegel, a representative of German Idealism, in his text *The positivity of the Christian Religion* understands the nation similarly as a community of customs, memory and fate:

“Every nation has its own imagery, its gods, angels, devils or saints who live in the nation's traditions, whose stories and deeds the nurse tells her charges and so wins them over by impressing their imagination...In addition to these creatures of the imagination there also lives in the memory of most nations, especially free nations, the ancient heroes of their countries' history...Those heroes do not live solely in their nation's imagination: their history, the recollection of their deeds is linked with public festivals, national games, with many of the state's domestic institutions of foreign affairs, with well-known houses and districts with public memorials and temples.”¹⁹

Another notable thinker of nationalism is Eric Hobsbawm, in particular because he highlights characteristics of the current nationalism. Hobsbawm, an English coeval Marxist historian, distinguishes himself from post-modern thinkers who regard nationalism simply by a discourse. In his studies of the evolution of nationalism he discerns two types of nationalism: democratic mass political nationalism, which flourished from 1830-1870 in Europe and nationalism evoked by the social developments in the second half of the nineteenth century such as urbanization, mass migrations and the emergence of new race-theories – can be characterized by its accentuation of ethnic and linguistic background. This nationalism has to be dated around the period of 1870-1914 (especially concerning these states: Ottoman Empire, Hapsburg Empire, Tsarist Empire) and still shows actuality today. While according to Hobsbawm the previous nationalism led to the nation-building and national liberation, the current ethnic and linguistic nationalism

¹⁹ Hegel: *The Positivity of the Christian Religion* in: Chatterjee, Partha: *Whose Imagined Community?* In Balakrishnan, Gopal: *Mapping the nation*, New York, 1996, p.60

“...in spite of its evident prominence, nationalism today is historically less important. It is no longer, as it were, a global political programme, as it may have been in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is at most a complicating factor, or a catalyst for other developments.”²⁰

Further, by stating that ethnic and linguistic nationalism is to be understood only as a response to non-national and non-nationalist principles of state- building in the last century, he claims that

“The call of ethnicity or language provides no guidance to the future at all. It is merely a protest against the status quo of, more precisely, against ‘the others’ who threaten the ethnically defined group.”

²⁰ Eric Hobsbawm: Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality. 1990 in: Smith D. Anthony: Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era, London, 1995, p. 10

Theory: Ernest Gellner and his theory on nationalism

“Some nations have navels, some achieve navels, some have navels thrust upon them. Those possessed of genuine ones are probably in a minority, but it matters little. It is the need for navels engendered by modernity that matters” (Ernest Gellner)²¹

The following chapter makes Ernest Gellner and its theory on nationalism the subject of discussion. Gellner who belongs to the current most important thinkers on nationalism, is widely known in the scientific world not only as a lifelong advocate of rationalism and individualism, but also as “...one of the few twentieth century thinkers who managed to combine successfully the study of sociology, philosophy, anthropology and history in developing creative, original and persuasive explanations of the macro structural changes that have shaped our world.”²² Contemplating Gellner’s biography, one can understand the importance of Gellner’s research focus on the relationship of nationalism, culture and power. As he enforced the vision of industrialization and cultural homogeneity as main features for the emergence of nationalism, he can be claimed as a representative of modernization theory (nationalism comes to surface in the relationship with industrialization).

Born 1925 in Paris as a child of German Jewish parents, he grew up in Prague until he and his family had to immigrate to England in 1939. While he spent of his childhood and youth in a politically very changeable time, in the 40s of the 20th century he decided to study philosophy, economics and politics at the Oxford Balliol College in England. Witnessing that the new Czechoslovakia after the war became a satellite state of the Soviets, he was compelled to settle definitely in England. His scientific career started at the University of Edinburgh as a lecturer in philosophy in 1947. Starting in 1949 at London School of Economics (LSE, department of sociology) he spent most of his professional career. He then was a lecturer of Social Anthropology in Cambridge for nearly ten years and after retiring, he returned to Prague. There, Gellner set up and led the Centre for the Study of Nationalism at the then newly established Central European University.

²¹ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p. 101

²² Malesevic S. and Haugaard M.: Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought, Cambridge 2007, p. 1-2

After breaking with the dominant ideas of the 1940s and the 1950s in Oxford (especially with the Wittgenstein philosophy of language) at the London School of Economics, Gellner came into contact with social anthropology (which at the time was very evolutionist since it was concerned with the 'real world'²³); in particular he had a scholarly and political interest in Islam and Morocco. What struck him most concerning Moslem societies was the fact that Islam was immune to the secularisation of the West. With the ongoing cold war at the centre of world politics and the following collapse of the Soviet Union, the fields of 'soviet anthropology' and later nationalism gained Gellner's intellectual attention and became his most researched scientific subject. Gellner's first studies on the subject started with his book 'Thought and Change' (1965) where

*"...he lays the contours of his theories of modernity, social change, nationalism and historical transformation. It is here that one can really chart the worth of his socio-historical method as he sets out a powerful sociology of specific philosophical doctrines and ideologies, from utilitarianism and Kantism to nationalism...It is here that he also charts the unique, unprecedented and exceptional character of modernity which is sustained by continental economic growth and a degree of cultural uniformity."*²⁴

His book 'Nations and Nationalism', which was first published in 1983 became one of the most noted and cited books in the scientific history on nationalism.²⁵ In this book, Gellner tries to find appropriate answers to what conditions a true nation and which components and conditions are fundamental to nationalism. For Gellner nationalism is predominantly a modern social construction, which is linked to culture and organisation, both features represent universal core elements for social life. John A. Hall, one of the most famous biographers of Gellner, says that Gellner felt so sure about his theory on nationalism because he was convinced that every modern state pays obedience to education²⁶:

²³ Davis J.: Warden of All Souls published in Guardian, November 7th, 1995
<http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/gellner/Jdavis.html>

²⁴ Malesevic S. and Haugaard M.: Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Thought, Cambridge 2007, p.3-4

²⁵ 'Nation and Nationalism' was declared one of the hundred most influential books since the war in : Times Literary Supplement, 30 December 2008 'The Hundred Most Influential Books Since the War' in : Hall, John A.: Ernest Gellner, An Intellectual Biography, London 2010, p. 308

²⁶ Hall, John A.: Ernest Gellner, An Intellectual Biography, London 2010, p. 311

*“The employability, dignity, security and self-respect of individuals, typically, and for the majority of men now hinges on their education, and the limits of the culture within which they were educated are also the limits of the world within which they can, morally and professionally, breathe. A man’s education is by far his most precious investment, and in effect confers his identity of him.”*²⁷

According to Gellner, nationalism requires cultural homogenisation as a prior to a legitimate membership of the organisation of a group (in this case of a nation). The notion ‘nation’ therefore is equivalent to a common culture shared by an organised group. Hence nationalism tries to include all members of a common culture by excluding others with different cultures. Thus, Gellner states:

*“...The essence of nationalism is a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent...”*²⁸

Thus, it is nationalism as an ideology, which is to be the responsible force to create nations by an including or excluding process:

*“Nationalist invent nations where the do not exist”*²⁹

Or as Gellner states in an other passage:

*“It is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way around.”*³⁰

While stating that culture and organisation belong to the fundamental features of human society and underlining that nationalism doesn’t, Gellner focuses on the question why nationalism and nations are essentially new characteristics of modern life³¹ since states in previous times were not organised on nationalist lines. Gellner therefore divides the human history in three different stages: the hunter-gatherer society, the agro-literate society and finally the industrial society. The societies of hunter and gatherer were too small to emerge

²⁷ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p. 36 in: Hall, John A.: Ernest Gellner, An Intellectual Biography, London 2010, p. 311

²⁸ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p. 1

²⁹ Gellner, E.: Thought and Change, Oxford, 1964, p.18

³⁰ Ibid. p.55

³¹ Gellner defines modernity by two different element: a mode of cognition (science) and a mode of production (industrialism), modernity therefore creates a industrial-scientific society.

nationalism. The age of agriculture shows enlargement of human settlements by the fact of new storage possibilities and food production: the division of labour increased. Beside farmers, craftsmen, merchant, soldiers and scribes form the human society. Even though, compared to the industrial society, agrarian societies don't represent a common shared culture, because culturally they are divided between a ruling class and a subordinate population.

*“ In these circumstances there is little incentive or opportunity for cultures to aspire the kind of monochrome homogeneity and political pervasiveness and domination for which later, with the coming of the age of nationalism, they eventually strive. ”*³²

Agrarian societies are complex, hierarchic and based on the division of labour, food production and storage, culture is marked by social status and not by egalitarian identity as it is in industrial times. Generally spoken, one can say that all this characteristics are preconditions of nationalism, but the role of the culture determines the fact that those societies remain agrarian, even if in these times political centralisation and the state begin to be the form of societal organisation. Thus, agrarian

*“... main function (intending the main function of culture) is to reinforce, underwrite, and render visible and authoritative, the hierarchical status system of that social order...note that, if this is the primary role of culture in such a society, it cannot at the same time perform a quite different role: namely, to mark the boundaries of the polity. ”*³³

As Gellner states, some agrarian societies had to face the relation between political power and culture, since cultural differentiation marked the society. But, as Gellner points out, such societies couldn't generate cultural homogeneity; the feudal system strengthened the distinction between power-holders and inferiors. The 'high' culture of the ruling class and the set of partly overlapping 'folk cultures' couldn't be universalised.

³² Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p. 13

³³ Ibid. p.43

According to Gellner industrial societies represent the first social system, which rely on the economic principle of growth. The political legitimacy is given only by the capacity to engender economic growth. Modern economies in industrial times require substitutable and mobile people with high specialisations on a large scale. Industrial societies had to be inevitably innovative and meritocracies where the relationships of their member couldn't be marked anymore by firm social formations. Thus, the changing economic demand conditions cultural homogeneity on the basis of an impersonal and context- free communication. Therefore

*"...nationalism is about entry to, participation in, identification with, a literate high culture which is co-extensive with an entire political unit and its total populations, and which must be compatible with the kind of division of labour, the type or mode of production, on which this society is based."*³⁴

Gellner underlines the importance of cultural homogeneity for the emergence of modernity and nationalism as he states:

*"It is this which explains nationalism: the principle – so strange and eccentric in the age of agrarian cultural diversity and the 'ethnic division of labour- that homogeneity of culture is the political bond, that mastery of... a given high culture (the one used by the surrounding bureaucracies) is the precondition of political, economic and social citizenship"*³⁵

The distinction between 'high culture' and 'folk cultures' of the agrarian societies becomes obsolete, since the high culture pervades the whole of society. It is remarkable, that Gellner speaks about the 'high culture' in contrast to the 'folk culture' ensuring the precondition of the nation-state. In this sense, he also criticizes current national ideologies, which put folk cultures at their centre.

³⁴ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p.95

³⁵ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p.29

*“National ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture; it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society...It preaches and defends cultural diversity, when in fact it imposes homogeneity both inside and, to a lesser extent, between political units.”*³⁶

The new conditions of labour in particular because of new technological developments changed the societal structure of the time. Now, labour had the meaning of communication with other people, controlled handling with machinery or generally literacy. As a consequence of industrialization, there was strong need of people with at least a basic standardized education. The new economical conditions required education in a common language and a context- free communication. Therefore a public monopolized education system within a common shared language was inevitable. Hence, the state is in charge of

*“...ensur(ring) that this literate and unified culture is indeed being effectively produced, that the educational product is not shoddy and sub-standard”*³⁷

Gellner refers to a strong interdependence between the state and the education/culture, both rely on each other for their maintenance. Thus, Gellner is of the opinion that

*“...nationalism is not the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force, though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new model of social organisation, based on deeply internalised education- dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state...”*³⁸

By claiming that many cultures could potentially become nations, Gellner puts attention to problem of the national susceptibility of traditional, modern and post-modern societies. Gellner distinguishes five different stages:

³⁶ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p.125

³⁷ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, New York, 1983, p. 38

³⁸ Ibid. p. 48

- “Viennese Situation” referring to the new map of Europe after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 until the beginning of the Greek independence war taking place in 1821: ethnic, cultural and language aspects didn’t matter in the rigid Viennese system
- “age of irredentism” which lasted from the Greek independence war until the Treaty of Versailles: nationalism raised and changed the European map by triumphing as ideology and literature
- “stage of the Treaty of Versailles and of Woodrow Wilson call within it for national self-determination”³⁹: the new national boundaries set by the Treaties of Versailles were very fragile and feeble that Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union filled this vacuums with ease
- “stage of ethnic cleansing”: Gellner distinguishes two types of the emergence of cultural homogeneity: the slow and violent one (it became reality in the West European countries such as France) and the short and violent way of ethnic cleansing (Balkan in 1990)
- “stage of the attenuation of national feelings”: the ideal of nationalism after the second World War was diminished: “...the brilliant success of the two major defeated nations and the economic malaise of some of the victors have made it plain that what makes you big, important, rich and strong in the modern world is not acreage, but rates of growth.”⁴⁰

While the stages one to three and five chronologically succeed each other with regard to content, the stage four describes a general phenomenon: violence during the nation building-process. Pointing out, that the relationship between culture, state and power⁴¹ is dependent also on a political or rather constructed geography, Gellner developed a geographical zones model (zone one: West Europe, zone two: Middle Europe, zone three: East Europe) in which he shows the differing links between state and culture. While in Western Europe, culture and state were interlinked for centuries and in the second zone (Germany and Italy), the high culture was waiting for an integrating state, the third zones missed both culture as well as state (Gellner makes a distinction for the third zone by emphasising the Soviet Union between

³⁹ John A. Hall used this term referring to the third stage, found in: Hall, John A.: Ernest Gellner, An Intellectual Biography, London 2010, p. 322

⁴⁰ Gellner, E.: Nations and Nationalism, Oxford, 1983, p. 48 in: Hall, John A.: Ernest Gellner, An Intellectual Biography, London 2010, p. 323

⁴¹ Gellner in this case speaks about nationalism as the offspring of the marriage between state and culture celebrated on the altar of modernity

1917 and 1991 where nationalism was suppressed). In this regard Gellner explicitly warned that the stages- and zones- model would not be efficient enough to build a theory on nationalism by itself: socio-economic features, cultural traditions and ideological factors play also a major role for the explanation of nationalism.

Eventually Gellner discusses current problems of nationalism of the 20th century like the questions why 'high culture' in the Western-Atlantic world generates nationalism and the Islamic world has fundamentalism tendencies. He writes:

*"At the end of the Middle ages, the Old World contained four major civilisations. Of these three are now, in one measure or another, secularised. Christian doctrine is bowdlerised by its own theologians, and deep, literal conviction is not conspicuous by its presence. In the Sinic world, a secular faith has become formally established and its religious predecessors disavowed. In the Indian world, a state and the elite are neutral vis-à-vis what is a pervasive folk religion, even if such as astrology continue to be widespread. But in one of the four civilisations, the Islamic, the situation is altogether different."*⁴²

Gellner's theory on nationalism shows – as demonstrated - a functional character: nationalism is a logical consequence of certain social circumstances, but nationalism is not universal and not the destiny of all states. Some may argue that even though nationalism might be a consequence of certain circumstances, it may not be those consequences, which explain the phenomenon. Critics also often have put attention to the fact that Gellner's theory does not give any explanation to the resurgence of nationalism in post-industrial or pre-industrial societies and to fervid enthusiasm which nationalism is able to provoke. The phenomenon of nationalist secessionism remains ignored by Gellner. Other critics often refer to the predictive weakness of the theory, which is to say that the theory is not able to predict nationalism with confidence. Another point of critical debate refers to Gellner's claim that nationalism invents nation, not the other way round. This statement implies that nations can be constructed out of nothing, thus Gellner denies historical memories or ethnic feelings.

⁴² Gellner E: Postmodernism, Reason and Religion, London 1992, p.5-6

Identity-questions between the tension of culture and nation

Of specific interest of this paper is the differentiation between the terms 'cultural identity', 'ethnic identity', 'national identity' and 'colonial identity'. But to what does the general notion 'identity' refer to? In the following, the listed concepts will be defined by their origin, their meanings and their interrelation with each other.

The term 'identity' became very fashionable in the last decades both in sciences and in the daily use. Questions about identity and about the coherence and integrity of cultural community seem to be a result and an answer to global cultural changes, even if, historically, the identity question arose before those changes occurred. By the late Middle - Ages social shifts were in charge of the discovery of the 'individual' and the 'individuality'. The decline of the importance of lineage, gender and social status marked a new history of ideas. In the 19th century, with the demise of the credibility of religious explanatory models of the world and the emergence of the spiritual mainstream of Romanticism, the significance of the 'self' reached an incredible high. As Baumeister claims:

*"Only with the emergence of modern societies, and in particular, with the differentiation of the division of labour, did the separate individual become a focus of attention."*⁴³

Thus, the concept of identity as an invention and characteristic of modernity became in particular a feature of the individual itself who has tried to find ways out of modern uncertainty. This deep needs to find one's roots can be seen as a characteristic feature of societies all over the globe:

"One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around the world accept this placement as right and proper, so that

⁴³ Baumeister quoted in: Guibernau, Monserrat: The Nation State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, Oxford, 1995, p. 72

both sides would know how to go in each other's presence. 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from uncertainty."⁴⁴

Identity due its features to providing continuity over time and differentiation from others, endows the individual with resilience and helps him to make choices and build relationships. Thus, the term identity can be used to define social communities and their particular characteristics (in terms of the shape of its total social interactions) as well as the basic needs of individuals for recognition within those societies. The definition of identity therefore has to refer to a double function of the subject matter:

*"Identity is a definition, an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where the person is in both social and psychological terms. When one has identity one is situated; that is cast in the shape of social object by the acknowledgement of (one's) participation or membership in social relations"*⁴⁵

Hence, the feeling of belonging and the possibility of identification are not simply given by the fact that a human being is born within a specific group; belonging has to be understood as an achievement at several levels of abstractions.⁴⁶ For this purpose the cultural background has to be seen as a basic principle on which those abstractions can be created, imagined and sustained. Hence, to put it simply, identity in modern times means:

*"...since the individual's essence is no longer simply his social position, he must carry his identity with him: his 'culture' becomes his identity..."*⁴⁷

Cultural communities recruit their set of cultural beliefs not only from their spiritual background and ideological descent (culture is not a passive inheritance, but an active process of creating meaning⁴⁸), the close relation between different cultural communities makes them pervade with each other. Therefore, the belief system of a cultural community is never unique, cultural communities influence each other in their context in terms of beliefs and practices. Bhikhu Parek, a coeval political theorist concludes in this sense that – because of

⁴⁴ Bauman, Zygmunt: From Pilgrim to Tourist-or a Short History of Identity, in: in Hall, Du Guay: Question of Cultural Identity, London, 1996, p.62

⁴⁵ Guibernau, Monserrat: The Nation Staff and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, Oxford, 1995, p. 72

⁴⁶ Bell, V.: Performativity & Belonging, London 1999, p.3

⁴⁷ Boyce, G.: Nationalism and Ireland, New York, 1991, p. 376

⁴⁸ Bhikhu, Parekh: Rethinking Multiculturalism, Cultural Diversity and Political Theory, New York, 2006, p. 14

the indwelling and intrinsic feature of intercultural interaction in times of globalisation – nearly all culture communities are multiculturally constituted and its membership is never a homogeneous and cohesive whole.⁴⁹ Culture has no coordinating authority; thus, its complexity and vagueness derives from its contact with other cultural communities or the contact with counter cultures over the range of its history.

Also, other authors in this respect refer to the point that culture has to be thought of as part of a wider political system. The influence of culture and its intrinsic shaping character has a significant importance for the legitimacy of economic and political decisions, it is a source of organizing economic, political and other institutions, but in turn is also shaped by them. A cultural community, understood as a specific population sharing the same culture, has to be analysed two-dimensionally: culturally and communally. The cultural dimension obviously refers to the content of the culture, while the communal dimension describes the actual community formed by human beings sharing a particular culture. Especially in recent times these two dimensions can be found separate from one another: one might originally have belonged to a cultural community or at least been born in it, but now no longer is part of that community (i.e. immigrants) and vice versa⁵⁰. The individual need of recognition as a universal feature of human life is present even if one can't share the community to which he or she is culturally connected. The need for identity has to be supported by culture and cultural communities to fulfil the function of being a 'source of meaning and experience'⁵⁰ for the individual.

Cultural assertiveness based on ethnicity, race, religion, language or some combination of these – responsible for the formation and building of collective identities – became popular for the very first time in the 1960s. New social movements, which are claiming their ethnic identity appeared on the political stage: Afro-Americans started to assert ethnic pride, women and homosexuals were claiming the right of equality. Among the variety of different cultural identities types, ethnic and national identity belong to probably one of the oldest identity forms and both are undergoing a new resurgence. Ethnic identity for instance can be defined as a category where the membership of a group is defined or determined by descent- based attributes like language, shared historical experience, common cultural traditions, etc. The

⁴⁹ Bhikhu, Parekh: *Rethinking Multiculturalism, Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, New York, 2006, p. 157-163

⁵⁰ Castells, Manuel: *The power of identity*, (Information Age vol.02), Oxford, 1997, pp. 6f cited in: www.polity.co.uk/global/pdf/GTReader2eTomlinson.pdf

reasons for the new actuality of identity categories may be found in the fact that nation-states represent not anymore a frame of culturally homogenous societies, but of multi-cultural communities and have to share sovereignty with super- and international institutions. These circumstances may create a vacuum of meaning for the individuals.

Since the research inquiry of this paper relates to the 'national identity', in this thesis the notion 'national identity' refers to constructivist approach on nation. In other words, 'national identity' implies identity as a ideological construct with a specific over the time changeable content. National identity meanwhile has to be differentiated from other identities as it refers not only to a cultural identity but also to a political unit. As O'Mahony and Delanty point out:

*"On the one hand, it refers to a cultural identity which decides who has the right to belong to a nation, and what belonging means, and, on the other hand, to a political identity which decides what political rights of citizenship such belonging confers."*⁵¹

National identity therefore means a political category where the members of a group define their culture as a national culture and regard themselves as the true legitimate inheritors of their national territory or homeland.⁵² National identity as well as other cultural identity forms are situated in an open battle of competition and in particular are subjects to changes. In terms of national identity, the developments of new technologies in current times activated two different opposite ramifications: single minorities (national identities) can draw attention to themselves within a nation- state in a way in which it was impossible until recently, and on the other hand, the technological progress for the nation-states provides the opportunity to generate and promote 'national-homogenized' culture and control over its population. The politically and economically globalised world also leads to the urgency of redefining national identity. In recent literature one finds in this context the term post-national identity referring to the new embeddness of European nations in the European Union. New debates predominantly takes place between advocates of post-nationalism who obviously favour a post-national identity and the Euro-sceptics, who bring forward the argument that national identity in contrast to a European identity takes an outstanding position, and therefore the claim to a European identity would be useless. Questions about the content of the European identity may be vague and controversial, but European identity as a collective identity form,

⁵¹ O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, Wiltshire, 2001, p. 3

⁵² Boyce, G.: Nationalism in Ireland, New York, 1991, p. 18

which is linked to the supranational status of the EU, has to be expressed as a broad cultural conception of Europe. As T.S. Elliot mentions in *Notes towards a Definition of Culture*:

*“...there can be no European culture if the several countries are isolated from each other...There can be no European culture if these countries are reduced to identity.”*⁵³

For this paper it seems relevant to hint at the definition of colonial identity as the history of Ireland was marked by a colonialization. Colonial identity defines a to cultural category where the members of a group whose national identity takes its origin in the mother country, but whose cultural identity was determined by the colonial rulers⁵⁴. Whenever in the following chapters the term ‘national identity’ will be used it solely refers to members of a group who share a national culture with reference to the national territory in terms of a national, political unit. The term ‘cultural identity’ in this paper indicates the member of a group who have had a distinct existence by sharing a recognizably common way of life (by language, gender, race, history, religious belief, ethnicity etc.).

⁵³ O’Donnell, R.: *Europe, The Irish Experience*, Dublin, 2000, p.58

⁵⁴ Boyce, G.: *Nationalism in Ireland*, New York, 1991, p. 18-19

Hypothesis

Most of the nationalism theories take at centre stage the societal circumstance in which nationalism arises: print-capitalism and nationally imagined communities (Anderson), ethnic and linguistic background of communities (Hobsbawm), homogenization of culture and education in a common language and a context-free communication provoked by industrialization process (Gellner), common history, language and culture of a community (Tönnies), ethnic communities with its myths, values, and symbols which represented their common origin and descent (Smith). It is striking that many theories even if dealing with the subject nationalism do not refer to the role of 'national identity' playing for the actual nation-building process. Thus, posing such a question from the perspective of the political science bears several theoretical challenges and problems, especially because political science hasn't given much attention to the phenomenon of a collective identity such as national identity. In contrast, other disciplines like history, anthropology and sociology deliver a vast amount of theoretical concepts on the concept of 'national identity'. For political science beside question on the rise of nationalism is the debate the legitimacy of nation-states. According to the 'Palgrave Macmillian Dictionary of Political Thought' legitimacy "...is the popular acceptance of a governing regime or system of governance"⁵⁵ As a consequence one might state that scholars of nationalism put the attention to nationalism as an ideology and to the characteristics of the nation but do not include the fact that every ideology is able to shape a collective belonging form which might get a political factor over the time as well.

Since Ireland found its own sovereign state only in 1921, one first of all has to assume that nationalism –if it ever existed in Ireland- played an significant role in the Irish history in the pre-state-building process since -as theories show- nationalism was a product of the 18th and 19th century of European modernity. In the case of the Irish nationalism this means that there are theories to be favoured, which state, that nationalism engenders nation (such as the theory of Ernest Gellner) and not the other way around. Also the fact that Ireland was a colony and during its colonialization period never achieved the stage of being a nation (until 1921), theories like the one of Anthony Smith can be denied (nation is always given, it's a category of a natural order). Because of the fact that many - in this paper introduced- social scientists

⁵⁵ The Palgrave Macmillian Dictionary of Political Thought, Houndsmills, Sasingstoke, Hampshire, 2007, p.518

agree on the theory that nationalism offers legitimacy to the political authority, it can be concluded that the collective belonging form national identity (which as modern nationalism theories show is not the only identity form a human being relates to, instead the individuals are capable of having 'multiple identities') helps to legitimate political decisions on the basis of a nation-state. Hence, for the first attempt of this paper to investigate when Irish nationalism came into picture the theories on nationalism provide a huge amount of different explanation models. For the second part, which is to examine the importance of national identity in current times, the listed nationalism theories do not seem to be appropriate.

Ireland

A general overview

The island Ireland is divided into the state Ireland with its capital Dublin and Northern Ireland with its capital Belfast, part of the United Kingdom. The sovereign state Ireland covers five-sixths of the island, while the remaining sixth is part of United Kingdom. Deriving from a system of the 13th and 18th centuries, the island is subdivided into four provinces (Connaght, Leinster, Munster and Ulster) and those into 32 counties, whereby twenty-six of the counties or administration areas belong to the Republic of Ireland and the remaining six counties are part of United Kingdom (all part of the province Ulster). The island covers an area of 84.400 km² and the population is slightly over six million, though the Republic of Ireland only contains 4,11 million. The main spoken language in both states is English, though on the West coast of Ireland some parts of the population still speak Irish, the official language of Ireland next to English. English is the public language of ever and language of commerce.



This is a political map of Ireland from 1922 to the present day.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Ireland#Early_Christian_Ireland_400.E2.80.93800

A political overview

Today's democratic Republic of Ireland with a bicameral parliament acquired its independence from the English crown on the 6. December 1921 and the constitution was introduced in 1937. Ireland has been a member of the Europe Union since 1973. The head of the state is the ninth President Michael D. Higgins, the head of the government is the prime minister or the 'taoiseach' (the Irish name for prime minister) Enda Kenny, leader of the Fianna Gael party. Elections for the presidency are held every seven years. Ireland's political scene is marked by the two centre-right parties Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, which have their roots in the partition in the 1920s. Hence, it is not surprising that Ireland's politics are characterized not along the traditional left-right lines, but instead by the politicians who accepted the partition of Ireland and by those who saw this historical event as negative indentation for the country. In general, it can be said that the two parties' policies on the Northern Ireland issue are essentially indistinguishable. Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, essentially, haven't distinguished from each other in the Northern Ireland issue.

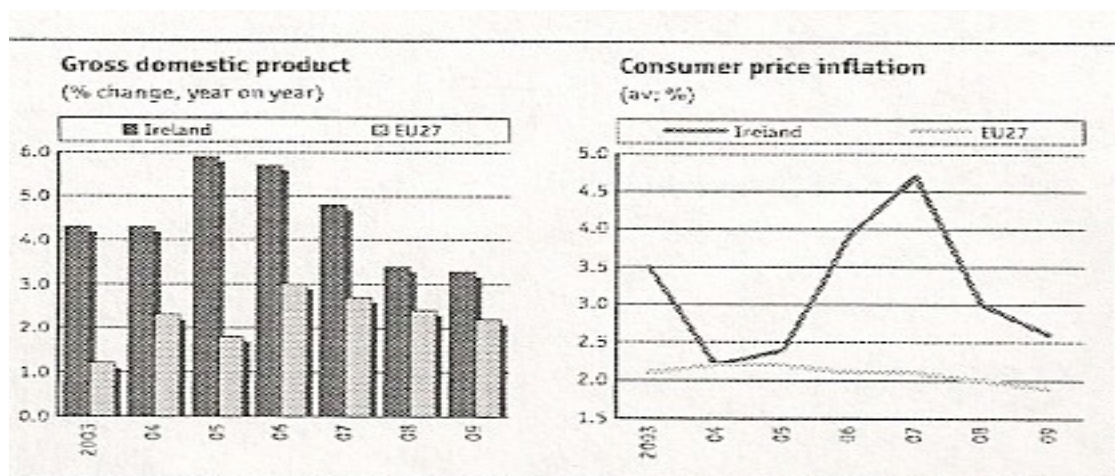
Ireland, as mentioned before, has been part of the EU since 1973. The relationship between the EU and Ireland led to enormous benefits for the country, so it's not surprising that Bertie Ahern, its current prime minister, is, in its political disposition, definitely a EU supporter. Therefore, the Irish rejection of the Nice Treaty in 2001 was not entirely understandable (the media saw the reason for the rejection of the Irish Treaty in the Ireland's fear of the enlargement agenda), though in the second referendum, initiated by Bertie Ahern after his win in the general election in 2002, the population accepted the Treaty.

In the last years Ireland's political arena has been under attack by the Irish media. Corruption and rumours of kickbacks have been part of the Irish political life for decades, but only in the last years have they come to light. The decade-lasting, conflict-ridden relationship with Great Britain concerning the Northern Ireland conflict ceased with the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Since then, Ireland's (which dropped its territorial claim to Northern Ireland) relationship to London and to Northern Ireland is diplomatically peaceful.

An economic overview

Ireland's economy has undergone a dramatic shift by showing a robust economic performance over the last decades. From a former almost utterly agricultural country, Ireland's economy transformed into a knowledge economy, focusing on service and high-tech industries. Since the beginning of the 90s Ireland has one of the strongest economies (the average real GDP growth over the 1991- 2001 period was more than 7% per year, in 2000 it was 12%, from 2001-2006 5,2% by declining slightly as a consequence of a global slight slowdown, and it's expected that until 2011 the average toll around 5% will be the same⁵⁷) when compared to the other European members.

This dramatic economical transformation which has also been called 'Celtic Tiger' can be explained by the introduction of low rated of corporate tax, low-regulation business climate, macroeconomic framework stability, relatively low-cost workforce and investment in education (in particular in the IT-sector, beginning already in the 70s, out of the awareness that Ireland has no raw material). Those circumstances led to huge foreign investments; particularly 'new-economy' companies from the United States saw, by relocating to Ireland, a chance to come into the European Market. Hence, as a consequence of the economic boom the unemployment rate fell from 16% at the beginning of the 90s to less than 4% in 2001.



The table shows the gross domestic product and the consumer price inflation by comparing the Irish data and the EU-27 states data⁵⁸

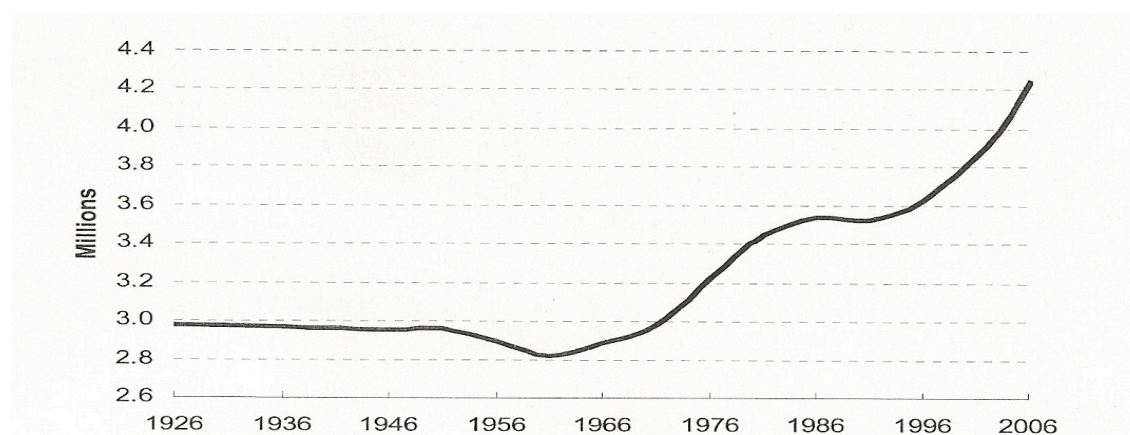
⁵⁷ Datamonitor Europe: Ireland Country profile, published in December, Brussels, 2007

⁵⁸ Country Report September 2007, www.eiu.com

Ireland faced a huge economic and political crisis in the last three years responsible for the first recession since 1980s. The crisis was caused mainly by the global financial crisis in 2007-2010, a series of banking scandals involving Irish banks (in particular the Anglo Irish bank) and a housing bubble. The consequence Ireland became the first country within the EU, which had to declare recession.

Social transformations

Since 1990, the country, due to the economic boom, has transformed into a multicultural society, with immigrants from all over the world. The notion ‘migration’ has always been a key word in the history of the country (because of the disastrous economic situation in the last three centuries Ireland had to face a large-scale outward migration; between 1848 to 1950 six million Irish emigrated from Ireland, and in 1961 Irelands population fell to its lowest level of 2.8 million⁵⁹), but since 1996, Ireland has been, for the first time during its history, due to the exceptional economic growth, a nation with more immigrants than emigrants. Only for the second time since 1921 the net migration into Ireland has outnumbered the emigration tolls. According to Akenson, the Irish community in the 19th century was the ‘most internationally dispersed of the European national cultures’. Even after the gaining of independence the Irish population was still at the 19th-century level.⁶⁰



The table illustrates the population rate, 1926-2006⁶¹

⁵⁹ The causes of this huge emigration toll were crop failure, badly ruled land system and a general economic crisis which led to famine, diseases, poverty and lack of opportunities. Most of the Irish emigrants went to British North America (Canada) and the United States.

⁶⁰ Akenson in: Kuhling; Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, London, 2007, p.53

⁶¹ Census 2006, www.cso.ie/Census/

A remarkable feature of the present immigration is that non-Irish immigrants have come to outnumber returning Irish migrants, and the major part of those non-Irish immigrants come mainly from other EU countries, which means that immigration to Ireland has been less racially, culturally and religiously heterogeneous than in other EU countries. At the end of 2005, Ireland reached a record high of 70.000 immigrants.

Nationality	2002		2006	
	Thousands	%	Thousands	%
Irish (including dual Irish/other)	3,585.0	92.8	3,706.7	88.9
UK	103.5	2.7	112.5	2.7
Other EU 25	38.4	1.0	163.2	3.9
Rest of Europe	14.7	0.4	24.4	0.6
Africa	21.0	0.5	35.3	0.8
Asia	21.8	0.6	47.0	1.1
USA	11.4	0.3	12.5	0.3
Other countries	11.2	0.3	22.4	0.5
Multiple nationality	2.3	0.1	2.4	0.1
No nationality	0.8	0.0	1.3	0.0
Not stated	48.4	1.3	44.3	1.1
Total	3,858.5	100.0	4,172.0	100.0

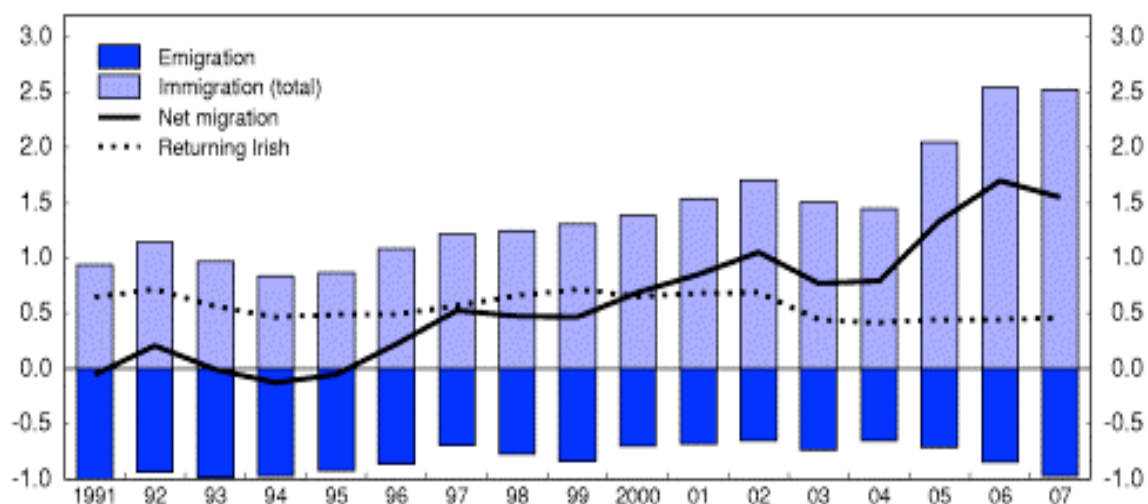
The spreadsheet refers to the resident population by nationality, 2002 and 2006⁶²

The former culturally homogeneous Irish population has been changed into a multicultural society; the growth of both economic and political non-Irish national migrants has increased in an incomparable way. As I noted above, migration plays a key role in the understanding of Ireland not only historically, but also in the comprehension of the present condition of the country. Migration in Ireland has to be classified; the history of Irish migration can be subdivided into three different periods:

- substantial outward migration before the Famine to the early 1990s
- a dramatic increase in inward migration from the mid 1990 to 2004 (caused by the economic boom)
- from 2004 onward, a period of more secure and stable immigration (the immigrants are likely to be entitled to a more comprehensive package of civil and economic rights)⁶³

⁶² Census 2006, www.cso.ie/Census/

⁶³ Hughes, McGinnity, O'Connell Quinn: The Impact of Immigration in: Fahey, Russell, Whelan: Best of Times? The Social Impact of the Celtic Tiger, Dublin, 2007, p. 225



Increase of Inward migration, in per cent of population 1991-2007⁶⁴

A study by Hughes and Quinn (2004)⁶⁵ on the economic and social impact of immigration in Ireland shows that immigration in the last two decades has been in favour of the economy. Nevertheless, the current financial crisis led to new emigrations, according to the Central Statistics Office nearly 85.000 people left the country since 2009.⁶⁶

In comparison to other European countries, Ireland's attitude towards immigrants has been reasonably tolerant. Thus, not surprisingly, the migration policy in the last decades has been driven chiefly by the economic requirements, which means that the work permits have been adjusted to the market. Many observers in this regard criticise the fact that Ireland's immigration policy focuses too little on reception or integration of the immigrants.⁶⁷ Criticism concerning the migration policy is based on the assumption that the migrant labourers rather represent the 'guest worker' than a potential citizen to be integrated within the Irish society.

⁶⁴ Central Statistics Office: Hughes, G.,Quinn E.; European Migration Network, The Impact of Immigration on European societies: Ireland, ESRI, EMN in: http://www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_2649_33733_40442886_1_1_1_1,00.html

⁶⁵ q.v. The Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin Ireland , http://www.esri.ie/publications/search_for_a_publication/search_results/view/index.xml?id=2049

⁶⁶Central Statistics Office Ireland www.cso.ie/px/pxeirestat/Statire/SelectVarVal/saveselections.asp

⁶⁷ Kuhling and Keohane in their study in regard to a cosmopolitan Ireland criticise the narrowly economic orientation to migrant workers by claiming: " The instrumental view of migrant workers is in keeping with the tendency of the Irish state to be driven by a one-sided model of social progress that priorities economic competitiveness over social cohesion and welfare. This short-sightedness of immigration policy and lack of attention to integration is an example of the Irish state's adherence to short- versus long- term economic strategies, and illustrates a failure of public policy" in Kuhling, Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, Dublin, 2007, p. 51

The Catholic Church is the biggest religious community in Ireland since 86% of the population declare themselves Roman Catholic. In comparison to other European countries, in 2007 Ireland had the fastest growing population due to rising birth rates and rising immigration rates (immigrants from foreign countries as well as Irish people returning from their Diaspora). The Catholic Church had a huge impact on Irish life and political agenda in the 20th century⁶⁸.

Religion	2002	2006	Actual change 2002-2006	Percentage change 2002- 2006
	Thousands			%
Roman Catholic	3,462.6	3,681.4	218.8	6.3
Church of Ireland (incl. Protestant)	115.6	125.6	10.0	8.7
Christian (unspecified)	21.4	29.2	7.8	36.4
Presbyterian	20.6	23.5	2.9	14.1
Muslim (Islamic)	19.1	32.5	13.4	70.2
Orthodox	10.4	20.8	10.4	100.0
Methodist	10.0	12.2	2.2	22.0
Other stated religions	40.0	57.9	17.9	44.8
No religion	138.3	186.3	48.0	34.6
Not stated	79.1	70.3	-8.8	-11.2
Total	3,917.2	4,239.8	322.6	8.2

The table shows the population by religious grouping, 2002 and 2006⁶⁹

⁶⁸ The Catholic Church were politically involved not only in issues like divorce, contraception, abortion, initiated by the Catholic Church, books and films were censored, the Catholic Church even determined that children from Protestant and Catholic parents had to be brought up by the Catholic norms

⁶⁹ Census 2006, www.cso.ie/Census/

History

Early history of medieval Ireland

Remarkable aspects of Irish history are the different long-lasting invasions and their impact on the country: the Celts (500 AD), the Vikings (795 BC), the Cambro-Norman (1167-1185 BC) and the English after the English Reformation. Over the centuries Ireland became partly and fully conquered, each of the conquerors influencing the country in its own way, whereby logically the Celtic and the English conquest played a key role for the understanding of current Ireland. Ireland itself never became a colonial power. Astonishingly, Ireland never became conquered by the Romans. Liam de Paor sees this historical “non-event” as very crucial in the Irish history:

“...the Roman decision ‘not’ to invade Ireland (is) perhaps the most important non-event in our history, since it separates our island’s experience, in a very important matter, from that of most Western Europe.”⁷⁰

The early history of Ireland is marked by the invasion of the Celts (500 BC until the beginning of Christianity in Ireland) coming from the continent during the Iron Age; this had a huge impact on the country not only then, but it also influenced the culture of the island during the history and its developments. The Gaelic culture (the Gaels were a grouping within the Celts) has become a crucial characteristic of the national cultural identity. However, during the reign of the Celts Ireland was divided into different kingdoms; the ruling class consisted of aristocratic warriors and wise people, including druids, and the valid regulation of society was represented by the Brehon (the judge’s name was Brehon) law – this legal system was founded around 2300 BC and lasted astonishingly long, until the 17th century –, which combined religious, mythological elements with social laws.

Tradition maintains that by the 5th century, the island became christianized by St. Patrick, a Briton who came as a slave to Ireland (some sources claim that the bishop Palladius was sent to Ireland in order to christianizing it). Irish Christianity blended with Celtic religious roots and mythology and changed not only the Irish culture of the time, but others as well: Ireland

⁷⁰ Paor de Liam: Milestones in Irish History, Dublin, 1986, p. 22

was the centre of Christian scholarship in Europe. Priests and monks started off from Irish monasteries and evangelized the neighbouring England and Central Europe by building churches and monasteries and contributing to the educational system of the time (Irish monastery movement from the 6th to the 10th century). In literature one often find the term *the golden age of Christian Irish culture* referring to this period.

In the 9th century, the Vikings started building settlements in Ireland, especially along the Irish coasts and created inter alia the present-day capital Dublin. Through the Viking invasion (they never achieved the utter domination over the island), Ireland, which until now had been geographically isolated, had to open up economically and presented an important station among the Viking trade routes. Thus, until the Norman invasion (1167) (which is also known as the invasion by the English⁷¹), Ireland was fragmented into numerous kingdoms. Only in the 13th century Ireland was divided up into two territories: the Norman and native Irish parts. These two powers were involved in continuous supremacy struggles over the centuries. Between 1254 and 1360 the struggles can be described as a Gaelic resurgence, as a result of a slight decline of the Norman influence. In the 15th century, the English domination of Ireland became weakened because of a civil war in their own country. Nevertheless, the English managed to introduce the *Poynings Law* in 1494, which meant a serious cut of Irish authority.

Colonial Ireland

The English Reformation under Henry VIII (who initiated the separation from the Catholic Church and declared himself as the only head of the Church of England) and his successor Edward VI had a crucial impact on Ireland. As a consequence of the Irish decision for the catholic faith, while the neighbouring island fully accepted the new religion, the Anglican Protestantism, conflict-riddled relationships between the two island marked the time span between the 16th and 17th century. In order to bring Ireland under protestant sovereignty, the English under Henry VIII planned to conquer Ireland and to integrate it as a Kingdom of Ireland fully under crown control. At the time of the reign of Elizabeth I of England, after

⁷¹ Originally the invasion was initiated by an invitation from Mac Murrough, a Irish king who wanted to regain his kingdom and looked for support in the neighbouring island. The term 'English' was used by the contemporary Irish in regard to foreigner. Liam de Paor on the question whether it was an invasion or an invitation states: "I still believe that we must speak of an invasion although it was initiated by an invitation." in: Paor de Liam: Milestones in Irish History, Dublin, 1986, p.42

several independence wars and struggles all over the country, the whole Ireland was utterly under control of the English crown.

From the mid-16th century onward, in the course of the English Reformation, Ireland has to be regarded as a colony of the English Empire, even if the political and military defeat of Gaelic Ireland came to light only in the 17th century³⁷²; in order to have guaranteed Irish loyalty the English senior nobility (who mainly ruled Ireland) built a central government in Dublin from where they claimed control over the country; they conducted 'Plantations' i.e. they settled Scottish and English Protestants in Northern Ireland in order to convert the Irish to Protestantism and to administrate the country, they disarmed the native lordship, they carried out land expropriation and enslaved Irish Catholics (over 60.000 Irish were sent to the Caribbean). The introduction of the Penal law prohibited other religions apart from the Anglican and forbade the Catholic Irish to accept official offices, to receive education in schools or universities and to acquire land from Protestants.

After 1610, in the area of Ulster, around 150.000 Protestants were settled (Ulster Plantation), whereby the Catholic Irish population was forced to relocate to the barren West of the country. Concerning those plantations, it has to be underlined that well before the plantations, other previous migration waves from Scotland had taken place aiming to anglicise and civilise Ireland. These migration flows taking place during the time when England still was catholic were voluntary and unstructured, a consequence of an economic decision with no political background. Thus, the plantations in Ulster after the English Reformation were also seen as a way to overcome the influence of the community of the catholic colonists who migrated to Ulster. The before mentioned introduction of the Penal law prohibited any other religions apart from the Anglican faith and forbade the Irish to accept official offices, to receive education in schools or universities and to acquire land from Protestants.

“This frank recognition that conquest and control must ultimately involve disowning the pre-reformation settlers set the scene for the dominant theme of the seventeenth century Irish history- the expropriation and degradation of the Catholic Colonists, which was

⁷² Only the Ulster clans, under Hugh O'Neill, showed resistance to the English power and created an effective alliance against the Elizabeth's army. Their long opposition against the English crown led to the Plantations, whereby many previous Irish leaders had to leave the country. Hence, the northern Ireland conflict not only had its roots in the fact that two culturally different groups were eyeball to eyeball with each other, the conflict line was also invoked by the fact that the same territory was occupied by two hostile groups.

accomplished by the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations, and consolidated by the penal laws.”⁷³

The 17th century in the Irish history was marked by several conflicts; probably this century can be seen as the most conflict-laden. In this time, the most important struggle in the Irish history took place, the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, between the catholic discharged king James II of England, who sought solidarity and support among the Catholics, and William III of England, William of Orange. The English defeated the Irish and the Penal laws sharpened; the Irish population was prohibited to join the parliament.

The colonial policy carried out by the English crown showed results: at the beginning of the 18th century, the Irish possessed only 7% of their entire island. In addition to the dreadful oppression by the English, Ireland was devastated by the ‘The forgotten Famine’ (1740-1741), which killed around 40.000 people. Generally, the economic situation in Ireland around 18th century was disastrous, the food production was determined for export than for the own consumption. Of particular political importance are the late decades of the 18th century, when Irish Protestants, who represented the Irish parliament and after all the previous centuries living in Ireland considering themselves more Irish than English, achieved a legislative independence from Britain. 1793 the English parliament enacted the Catholic Relief Act, which gave the Catholics the vote on the same basis as Protestants and made them eligible for most offices. A crucial event in this period was the ‘Irish Rebellion’ of 1798, which was suppressed by the colonial power and led to the ‘Act of Union’.

The 19th century and the ‘Act of Union’

The ‘Act of Union’ (1801-1922) was enacted between the Kingdom of Ireland and the Kingdom of Great Britain (including Scotland and Wales) and represented the basis of the later founded United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The consequences of the ‘Act of Union’ were severe for Ireland: the Irish Parliament (which has its roots back in the 13th century) and government were abolished in order to rule the country from the English Westminster. Dublin, even if it ceased to be the parliamentary capital, remained the

⁷³ Paor de Liam: Milestones in Irish History, Dublin, 1986, p. 65

administrative centre of Ireland. Initially, through this union, the Irish were guaranteed that the discrimination of their religion had to be repealed. But then this didn't happen because of King George III's fear that it could violate his Coronation Oath.

Not only the 'Act of Union' gives a description of the crucial and dramatic events in the Irish history in the mid-19th century; Ireland underwent a gruesome famine, historically called the 'Great Famine'. It has to be contemplated as the worst natural catastrophe to strike Western Europe in the 19th century (it occurred in particular in the time span of 1845-1849) and was caused by the potato blight. The consequences of the 'Great Famine' led to the death of 4 million people. So, in the 60 years after the beginning of the 'Great Famine' the population dropped from 8 million to 4,4 million in 1911.

Irish history after the Union can be characterized by the struggle for Irish civic and religious freedom and independence from the English Empire. During the century many Irish movements were formed in order to dispose the Union: the Gaelic League, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Fenians, the Catholic Association and the Repeal Association (parliamentary movements as well as movements which expressed their opposition with physical force).

The end of the 19th century became significant in Irish history due to the most important shifts in Anglo-Irish relations since 1800. In the course of the awakened political independence desire of the greater part of the Irish Catholic population, the English Prime Minister William Gladstone had to resolve the claim to Irish separation and freedom by introducing the Home Rule Bill of 1886 giving the Irish parliament the right to appoint the executive of Ireland. Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish national leader of the time, accepted the Bill in contrast to the wealthier Protestants. Throughout the country but in particularly in the northern part of Ireland, in Ulster (where the majority of the population was Protestant) the Bill was neglected as well as in the House of Commons in England. Even if the first Bill failed, it showed the tension and division among the Irish population: while the major population of Ireland, the Irish nationalists, Catholics and agrarian parts of the island supported the Home Rule Bill, the northeast of the island, notably the Irish unionist, Protestants and industrialized parts, favoured the maintenance of the Union because they feared economic and political loss. The second Bill of Home Rule, which Gladstone introduced in 1893, did not pass the House of Lords.

The Irish Free State

Even though, in 1914, the parliament of the UK passed the third Home Rule Bill, it was suspended during the First World War, and once more it showed the effect on the island; the Ulster Volunteers tried to repeal the self-government of Ireland, while the formation of the Irish Volunteers aimed to finally gain independence. With the objective to have ensured the implementation of the Home Rule after the war, Ireland fought during the war side-by-side with the English. But, in 1916, the Easter Rising, an insurrection in Dublin demanding the separation from Britain and expressing the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, marked the Anglo-Irish relations. Until 1921, Ireland was marked by violence and, by taking into account the demands of the Ulster Unionists and of the Irish nationalists, the only solution for the British government⁷⁴ represented some form of partition.

In the elections of 1918, Sinn Féin, the party which became the reservoir of the independence war, won the majority of the seats in parliament, and in 1919 they declared its independence from England claiming sovereignty over the whole island without going into negotiations with Britain (Irish Republic from 1919-1922). The party members refused to take a seat in the British House of Commons and set up their own parliament, the Dáil Éirann. These incidents finally led into the War of independence from 1919 to 1921, whereby the newly formed Irish Republican Army (IRA) was fighting for the nationalists. England's answer to this dominant self-government claim on behalf of the Irish was the Fourth Government of Ireland Act 1920, containing the partition of the island into 'Northern Ireland' which remained under British government and 'Southern Ireland'. In December 1921, in the Anglo-Irish treaty, both sides agreed in the separation and the creation of the 'Irish Free State'⁷⁵ (Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins signed on behalf of the Irish Catholics), a self-governing dominion of the English Empire. The six counties of Ulster remained part of the UK, but through this treaty received Home Rule.

⁷⁴ Since 1886, the first Home Rule Bill, Ireland has been a decisive issue of British party politics. Liberals and Conservatives had different attitudes in handling this significant issue, in particular at the beginning of the struggles for the third Home Rule Bill. But during the first World War, the English parties no longer made for confrontation but for consensus q.v. Paor de Liam: *Milestones in Irish History*, Dublin, 1986, p. 132

⁷⁵ Micheal Collins, who signed the Treaty on behalf of the Catholic Irish concerning the Treaty and in agreement with the separation of the island, stated that it would „give us freedom- not the ultimate freedom that all nations desire and develop to, but the freedom to achieve it“ in Charles Townshend: *Ireland The 20th century*, New York 1999, p.109

After the ratification of the Treaty, among the members of the Sinn Féin party, there emerged a conflict between Treaty supporters (Griffith and Collins) and those who opposed the Treaty (wanted to achieve a full Irish Republic – as the IRA did- to which they had sworn loyalty in 1919 under the leadership of de Valera). As a consequence, not only the party broke up: this conflict led to the Irish Civil War from 1922-1923 between the Free State Army and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Among those who despised the Treaty was de Valera, the former President of the Executive Council in 1919 who also tried, by travelling to the US, to support the republican resistance financially⁷⁶. The war only ended when de Valera agreed that the path to a full independence of the Irish island could only be successful by a parliamentary decision and not in a military way. Even if loosing the civil war, the intention of IRA organisation was a full independent Irish Republic.

In 1922, Collins introduced the constitution, which included the oath on the British crown, which formed part of the Treaty. The period between 1922 and 1932 was marked by a certain displeasure concerning the forced and imposed state, and only when de Valera won the elections in 1932 (with his party Fianna Fáil, founded in 1926) was the atmosphere changed. He deleted the oath in his constitution of “Éire” (Éire in English means Ireland) in 1937 and in that way he transformed the Irish Free State into the Republic of Ireland. Under de Valera’s premiership, which lasted until 1948, the Irish population showed a bigger acceptance to the political decision of the Treaty of 1922.

In ‘Northern Ireland’ the situation after the Treaty was similarly violent as in the Free State in the 20s. The Catholics’ (who represented the minority within the population) objective was a unified republic (in collaboration with the IRA), while the Unionists practised a policy of discrimination against the Irish Catholics, whereby, among those, the most crucial discrimination instrument was certainly the abolition of Proportional Representation in the parliament, introduced in 1929. Thus, the Catholics could not take a seat in the parliament; they also experienced discrimination in employment and in housing as well. The Northern Ireland riots in 1969, initiated by Catholic students, had to be dealt with by British troops. At the beginning of the 70s Northern Ireland experienced the most violent and bloody days in its history: this time – known as The Troubles in which the famous Bloody Sunday took place –

⁷⁶ The Irish Civil war was even bloodier than the War of Independence of 1916-1921; historians estimate the death toll between 800 to 4000 people. In addition, 10,000 people were incarcerated without a trial. q.v. Charles Townshend: Ireland The 20th century, New York 1999, p. 116

was characterized by the bloody conflict between British army and other paramilitary organisations on both sides. After this period of tension Northern Ireland was ruled directly by the British Cabinet, which had a strong interest to defeat the IRA and support the former policy of discrimination. In 1986, with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, both Ireland and Britain agreed in seeking a solution for the conflict. With the Belfast Agreement or Good Friday Agreement the conflict found peace in 1998, declaring that both political and religious groups, Unionist and Nationalists, were entitled to wield power over limited, shared areas of government. The agreement was approved in referendum in Ireland as well as in Northern Ireland.

The Republic of Ireland: member of the EU

The Irish Civil War and its aftermath have marked the political arena of Ireland until today. Politically, two main parties emerged after 1922 -Fianna Fáil with its leader de Valera and Fianna Gael under Collins- both can still be regarded as the leading parties on the Irish political stage. Ireland, during the Second World War, remained neutral (Ireland's continuing policy of neutrality would also not allow a membership in the NATO) and by formally declaring the Republic of Ireland in 1949 with the Republic of Ireland Act, it resigned the membership of the British Commonwealth. In 1955, Ireland joined the United Nations and in 1973 the European Community. Since then, Ireland has held the EU presidency three times (1990, 1996, 2004).

“Membership of the EU has been central to Ireland’s interests for the last 30 years. We are seen by many as the shining example of how membership can benefit as small, peripheral, underdeveloped country. We have successfully integrated our economy, our currency and many other aspects of our lives with our European partners. Not being part of Europe is, frankly, unthinkable.”⁷⁷

These are the words of a former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern concerning Ireland's entry to the European Union. It is beyond doubt that Ireland has benefited considerably from the membership of the EU: the EU structural funds have transformed a poor country depending

⁷⁷ Bertie Ahern, former Taoiseach in: O'Mahony, J.: Ireland and the European Union in: Collins and Cradden: Political issues in Ireland today, Manchester 2004, p. 15

on agriculture and low scale industry, low incomes, high unemployment and continuous emigration into – according the Economist Intelligence Unit⁷⁸ in 2004 – the leading country in world for quality of life. Ireland's membership within the EU was directly linked to the national project of economic modernization.

Ireland's membership has not only received advantages through the joining of the Single European Market (Ireland joined the European Monetary System in 1979), but also trade liberalisation, the free movement of capital and attraction of foreign enterprises and investment flows (mainly from the US) led to the expansion of the gross national product (GNP) by 140 per cent between the end of the 80s and 2000. What is today known as the Celtic Tiger can be seen as an incredible economic, political and social shift changing one of the poorest countries in Europe to one of the highest quality of life. Even if initially the EEC membership was seen as a way out of dependence on Britain on a political and economical level and of the own economic crisis, the White Paper on Foreign Policy states 1996:

*“Irish people increasingly see the European Union not simply as an organisation to which Ireland belongs, but as an integral part of our future. We see ourselves, increasingly, as Europeans.”*⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The Economist Intelligence Unit refers to a survey which combines data on income, health, unemployment, climate, political stability, job security, gender equality and “freedom, family and community life” in: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/nov/18/population.ireland>

⁷⁹ White Paper on Foreign Policy, Government of Ireland 1996, p. 59

Year	Date/s	Event
1956	October	Committee of Secretaries established to consider Ireland's position in context of relations between the EEC and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
1959	December	Diplomatic relations established with the EEC
1961	July	Ireland's application to join the EEC sent to the European Council
1963	January	Breakdown of negotiations with the UK, Denmark, Ireland and Norway on EEC membership – the 'de Gaulle veto'
1966	January	Irish government decision to accredit a separate diplomatic mission to the then European Communities – EEC, Euratom and ECSC
1967	May	Second application for EEC membership
1970	June	Formal opening of accession negotiations
1972	January	The taoiseach, Jack Lynch and the minister for foreign affairs, P. J. Hillery, sign instruments of accession
1972	May	Referendum on membership (83 per cent in favour, 17 per cent against)
1975	First six months	Ireland holds EC presidency for the first time
1987	May	Ratification of Single European Act (69.9 per cent in favour, 30.1 per cent against)

Key dates in Ireland's membership of the European Union and its predecessor bodies⁸⁰

While Ireland until the 90s was a net beneficiary of the EU budget (over the period of membership Ireland received transfers of €31bn in respect of the Common Agricultural Policy and €16bn in respect of the Structural and Cohesion Funds and for the funding period 2007 - 2013 Ireland will receive 750.72 million €⁸¹), today it presents itself (still as net beneficiary country of the EU budget) as a very cooperative state concerning the European Structural and Cohesion policies. Summarized, Ireland's entry into the EU had a deep social effect on the Irish society. As Rory O'Donnell points out, the consequences have come from five different sources:

- legislation has had a great impact on equality policies in Ireland
- funding: ESF, ERDF and Structural Fund has greatly raised the Irish living standards
- EU Administrative System: political and civic dialogue between most Irish administrative systems and the EU systems

⁸⁰ Collins, Terry, Cradden: Political Issues in Ireland today, Manchester, 2004, p.17

⁸¹ <http://www.finance.gov.ie/viewdoc.asp?DocID=226&UserLang=GA&StartDate=1+January+2008>

- Usage of EU language and terminology
- Social programmes has become influenced by a major input from the EU⁸²

Ireland twice rejected a European referendum (Nice in 2001 and Lisbon in 2007). After an initial rejection of the Treaty in 2008, in 2009 in a second referendum the Irish agreed to the Lisbon Treaty.

⁸² O'Donnell, R.: Europe, The Irish Experience, Dublin, 2000, p.64

National Identity in Ireland

The rise of the national question in Ireland

“...the principle teaching of nationalism: the need to find the ideological basis for a wider unity than any known before’ This basis is found, I believe, in the rediscovery and repatriation of what has been suppressed in the natives’ past by the processes of imperialism.” (Edward Said)⁸³

Irish history cannot only be characterized by catchwords such as the 800 year lasting colonialization (some scholars state that Ireland after the 17th century was not a colony but a sister –kingdom and after 1800 an integral part of the British polity⁸⁴), the famine, civil war, emigration and conflicts over partition, as Moane points out, the traumatic history of Ireland has to be seen also by the repeated occurrence of dispossession, loss and defeat. Some thinkers therefore regard Irish nationalism as a way out of the tragic economic, social, cultural and especially cultural protections by shaping a collective cultural identity of the nation’s people. As O’Mahony and Delanty state concerning national identity, national identity doesn’t only have to take into account the values and rules of the population of a nation, but also

“...the political identity that transfers the substance of cultural identity into values that underpin political activity.”⁸⁵

In this chapter I will point out which and how the historical events led to the beginning of Irish national consciousness, from which social classes national identity was supported, on which fundamental pillars Irish national identity was based on and generally spoken how the transformation of the collective cultural national identity category into the institutionalisation of a nation state occurred.

⁸³ Said, W. Edward: Themes of Resistance Culture in: Shirly Galloway: Irish Nationalism: Themes of Survival and Transcendence in Modern Irish Literature, 1996 in : www.cyberpat.com/shirlsite/essays/Irish.html

⁸⁴ Boyce, G.: Nationalism and Ireland, New York, 1991, p. 388

⁸⁵ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, 2001, Wiltshire, p.2

David Moran (1869-1936), an Irish national ideologist listed in his text *The philosophy of Irish Ireland* features according to which being Irish required to capacity to speak the Irish language, to be a member of the Roman Catholic Church, to have an anti-materialist outlook of the world and to play only Gaelic Games. He wrote that text in 1905 – almost 20 years before Ireland became independent (Free State, 1921) –, at a time when the nationalist movements somehow reached their peak. The national question in Ireland came to the fore in the form of different mass movements declaring a deep resentment of the British presence in Ireland a hundred years earlier, and though after accomplishing the Free State national claims declined, they did not vanish at all. With the economic advancement in the 60s and the improved relationship with the UK, nationalist demands downsized. Over the last forty years, Irish national ideology focused mainly on the Northern Ireland question; one can say that the nationalism-driven agitation and violence carried out by the Roman Catholic minority in Northern Ireland chiefly characterizes the old Irish nationalist tradition. In the following, the beginning of nationalism in Ireland, its ideological roots and demands in the course of the historical occurrences takes centre stage.

Every investigation of the rising of Irish nationalism primarily has to take into account the 700-year lasting colonial status of the island and the historical oppression of Catholics who can be identified as the native Irish people. While over the centuries the government and the landholding were mainly dominated by English Protestants, Ireland experienced modernity through an English transmission. As Robert Welch states:

*“Ireland, unlike most other European countries, did not have the opportunity of fully experiencing the experiments of individualism, enterprise, collectivity and modernization that are known as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.”*⁸⁶

Hence, the national question in Ireland is undoubtedly linked to the resistance movement, to the colonial Protestant power and the struggle for political independence. Different national movements and associations were formed over the time (not only launched by Catholics; many Irish Protestants were likewise as nationalistic), in each case focusing respectively on varied ideologies and narratives. At the beginning of the resistance movement the republican ideas were decisive (in the Enlightenment sense), then it turned into separatist ideas (in the

⁸⁶ Welch, Robert: *Changing States: Transformation in Modern Irish Writing*, London, Routledge, 1993, p.1

romantic sense). Concerning Irish nationalism, Ben Tonra speaks about the romanticism nationalism, the settler nationalism, the colonial nationalism, the Home Rule nationalism and socialist nationalism. By contrast to France, Irish republicanism was

*“...to become a synonym for Irish nationalism. Or to put it in another way, the idea of a republic become less an end in itself than a means towards a nationalist end.”*⁸⁷

One of the crucial events in Irish history concerning the beginning of nationalistic thought among the majority of the Irish population is certainly the Act of Union in 1800 (ratified on the January 1st 1801) which not only merged the Kingdom of Ireland with the unified Kingdom of Great Britain as a consequence of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 (annexation of Ireland), but also abolished the Irish Parliament and gave Ireland full representation at Westminster. Initially, the Act was regarded as a progress for Ireland because of its promise of Catholic Emancipation, but because of King George III's fear it couldn't be realized until 1829 (the Catholic majority was conceded voting rights). Over the centuries of colonialization the single independent Irish lordships showed resistance to the colonial power, but dispossession of Catholic landlords and disorganization in their political agenda made them fail.

During the time of Elizabeth I and while the plantations in Ulster took place, the first nationalist revolt took place by Irish tenants who were displaced by English settlers (who became later the New English). A first resistance movement took place in the 17th century by the Confederate Catholics of Ireland demanding independence from England, autonomy for the Irish parliament and full rights for Catholics. A second attempt was initiated by the Irish Catholic Jacobites, which supported James II in the lost Battle of Boyne and the Williamite war in 1689-1691. As mentioned earlier, the English response to those Catholic resistance movements were the ruthless Penal Laws, which had the effect that they narrowed the economic possibilities of the Catholics even more.

Interestingly, there also existed a nationalist movement within the Irish Protestant population who was chiefly influenced by the emancipatory thoughts of civil rights, a strong vein of secularism and anti clericalism following the French Revolution. Grattan, Neilson, Tone and

⁸⁷ Kearney, Richard: Postnationalist Ireland, Dublin, 1997, p.35

Emmet are the names of those who, even though descending from colonial families, not only focused on the political demand for separation, they also argued that the Irish national identity would contain both ‘races’ of Ireland, ‘planters’ as well as ‘Gaels’. As Thomas Davis, an Irish politician and writer (poet of the ‘Young Ireland’⁸⁸ movement), stated:

*“...Will you take the boys of Ireland in their earliest youth and deepen the differences between them? Will you sedulously seclude them from knowing the virtues, the genius, the spirit, the affections of each other? If you do, you will vainly hope that they who were carefully separated in youth will be united in manhood, and stand together for their country.”*⁸⁹

In their activities, they set up resistance organisations such as the Society of the United Irishmen (founded by Theobald Wolfe Tone⁹⁰ who was strongly influenced by the French republicanism, not so much in its imperial nationalism but more in its universal principle of liberty) which was then responsible for the Irish Rebellion in 1798, the event which definitely can be termed as the emergence of Irish Nationalism⁹¹. The Society of the United Irishmen even if it started as a liberal political organization intending a Parliamentary reform transformed itself in a revolutionary republican organization. In the course of the following introduction of the Act of Union, two main Catholic nationalist movements arose: Irish Republicans who, in line with the events concerning the uprising in 1798, favoured the violent struggle in their intention to achieve an Irish Republic, and those who tried to seek concession from the Britain in a non-violent way.

As pointed out above, the Union and the annexation of Ireland respectively was the determining condition, which led to the Irish resistance against the English Empire. As Charles Townshend claims, resistance was the *leitmotiv* of the 19th century and the struggle for it during the century formed the ‘Irish question’. He lists four different fields and demands

⁸⁸ Young Ireland was a political, cultural and social movement that saw Irish nationalism as a political force in Irish society

⁸⁹ Townshend, Charles: Ireland, The 20th century, New York, 1999, p. 21

⁹⁰ To those names, the fundamental issue was the separation from Britain. In their belief, once the national independence was their main goal, all the other dependence features would be solved in this context. As Wolfe Tone stated “...to break the connection, the never-failing source of Ireland’s ills”. To Thomas Davis, Protestant too, it was necessary that Irish Identity had to incorporate both Protestants and Catholics; in: Townshend, Charles: Ireland, The 20th century, New York, 1999, p. 20

⁹¹ As one English spokesman stated at the time: “If the Irish are in some respects a century behind us in point of civilisation, they are at least two centuries before us in their revolution principles.” In Kearney, Richard: Post nationalist Ireland, Dublin, 1997, p.56

(from his point of view, resistance not only included the political dimension), which were linked to the independence ambitions:

*“First, demands for change in political status; second, demands for change in land law, ownership and distribution, third, demands for institutional structures incorporating the outlook of the overwhelming Catholic majority; and fourth, calls for cultural authenticity.”*⁹²

Hence, the elements of Irish nationalism can be seen rooted in different claims, every one endowed with different content but in its scope quite unified: aiming to achieve independence from Britain. Independence for the Irish in the 19th century not only meant to have a politically independent Republic; since more than 80% of the Irish population was Catholic, the demand for recognition extended to the religious and cultural spheres as well. Ben Tonra underlines the explicit Irish understanding of themselves as the opposite to the English:

*“ In large measure, the dominant narrative that was thereby established, defined Ireland almost as the reverse image of England and its ‘British’ state...Where England was Protestant, Ireland was Catholic, where it was urban, Ireland was rural, where it was industrial, Ireland was agrarian and where it was Anglo-Saxon, Ireland was Gaelic.”*⁹³

The relationship with the neighbouring island has been a remarkable feature of the Irish claim to their nationhood. Even if Ireland suffered of 800 year of oppression, the 19th century can be characterized by the Gaelic revival moment. Nevertheless it has to be stated that the Irish population nearly completely lost its own language (by the mid-19th century only 5% spoke Irish) and lacked a distinctly shared historical experience. In this specific historical instant, the religion or rather Catholicism became a central force in the struggle for independence.

The demand for ‘Catholic Emancipation’ and in particular the Catholic Association led by Daniel O’Connell (in the Irish history revered as the ‘The Liberator’) played a key role in this moment of national calls. The Catholic Church and Catholicism in general had a huge impact on the social and political life for all the Irish people, in particular in the 19th century. Campaigning for civil and political equality (full rights for Catholics and liberty of religious self-expression), self-government and for the repeal of the Union (‘Home Rule nationalism’),

⁹² Townshend, Charles: Ireland, The 20th century, New York, 1999, p. 19

⁹³ Tonra, Ben: Global Citizen and European Republic, Irish foreign policy in transition, Manchester, 2006, p.17

O'Connell believed in the constitutional nationalist tradition. With the support of the Catholic clergy and the majority of the workers organisation, he rejected political violence as a means for independence and saw the constitutional methods as appropriate. When he stood for election in 1829 (even though he knew that it wasn't his right to take a seat in parliament) among the political ruling class this caused commotion. They then eventually introduced the 'Catholic Relief Act of 1829' which allowed the Catholics to attend the parliament, and removed civil disabilities against Catholics (even if it didn't change the social and economic misery of the time). Even if his Repeal Association collapsed after 1845, the Catholic Emancipation succeeded as an organization, through the Catholic Association Irish national consciousness in the course of the 19th century rested comfortably on agrarian Catholicism. In fact, O'Connell was successful not only in founding an organisation based on the mass mobilisation of the poorest sections of Irish history, he placed – by promoting the equation of Catholicism and nationalism- all the independence struggle in one political figure, himself.

A different nationalistic approach for achieving an independent Irish Republic can be seen in the organisation Irish Republican Brotherhood, or 'Fenians', as they were named as well. This nationalistic movement represented a republican alternative to the nationalistic ideas of constitutional parliamentarianism. By rejecting constitutionalism and appealing to the use of force, the Irish Republican Brotherhood was a movement following the Young Irelanders and United Irishmen. The Republican Brotherhood was active from the mid 19th century on and survived over 60 years to the launch of the Easter rebellion in 1916. This nationalistic underground revolutionary group was a secret society under the leadership of James Stephens who was of the opinion that the masses only needed an effective leader to follow in the struggle against the tyranny.

Even if the Fenian organisation never was active in terms of a rebellion and even if lower circles of the organisation were more concerned with the land agitation, parliamentary politics (campaigning for Home Rule and Land Reform) and the renaissance of the Gaelic culture, it was regarded as spiritual revolutionary. Karl Marx, who was not only strongly interested in the Irish affairs, but was also a supporter of the Fenians by influencing the International Working men Association in support of Irish independence, claimed:

“Fenianism is characterised by socialist tendency (in the negative sense directed against the appropriation of the soil) and by being a lower orders movement.”⁹⁴

The 800-year-lasting colonialization of Ireland entailed dispossession of the land as well as consequential poverty of the majority of the peasants, a fundamental threat that can be regarded as a count of indictment among every nationalist movement. In Ireland, farmers and townspeople's demand came together in the Irish National Land League (created in 1880-1882), a national movement which as well as the Irish Nationalist Party combined the idea of abolishing 'landlordism' and the idea of a distinct modern form of civil resistance. The Irish National Land League and the Irish Nationalist Party or Parliamentary Party (which replaced the Home Rule League (1873-1882)) was led by Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant Anglo-Irish/American landlord with the goal of substituting the old tenurial system and nationalize the land by promoting Home Rule. According to Parnell, only this could lead to an independent, social and politically stable Ireland. Parnell's political constituency had an unprecedented success, because with his organizational skills he set up a political mobilization which embraced not only farms demands with demands of Home Rule⁹⁵, his political program even included elements of the Protestant middle class. As Charles Townshend claims:

“To him Home Rule offered a path to class harmony, the resolution of landlord –tenant conflict, even perhaps the restoration of aristocratic leadership in Ireland. For him...the Irish nation was not an imperative. In this sense he was an enlightened rationalist rather than a modern nationalist.”⁹⁶

Parnell's personal life – a divorce scandal – led to the situation in which the entire Irish Nationalist Party broke up and subsequently also smashed the demands for Home Rule. Parnell's bill for Home Rule failed twice in attempts to push it through Parliament. At this stage, the organization Sinn Féinn led by Arthur Griffith promoted the idea of undoing the

⁹⁴ Boyd A.: The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions, p. 56 in: Glennon M.: Against the Red Flag, Socialism and Irish Nationalism 1830-1913 in: <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/cc1913/flag.html>

⁹⁵ Parnell in a speech concerning Home Rule and the boundaries of a nation: “We cannot ask the British constitution for more than the restitution of Grattan's parliament, but no man has the right to fix the boundary of a nation .No man has the right to say to his country, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further", and we have never attempted to fix the "ne plus ultra" to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall” in: Hickey, D.J. & Doherty, J.E.: A new Dictionary of Irish History from 1800, Gill & MacMillan 2003 p. 382-385

⁹⁶ Townshend, Charles: Ireland, The 20th century, Oxford 1999, p. 31

Act of Union in 1800 and like the example of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, to install a dual monarchy, which would give Ireland its independence as a separate Kingdom. The concept of Griffith who himself refused his seat in the Parliament of the United Kingdom showed less success than expected at the beginning.

Besides all those political organisations and associations fighting for the independence, the time span from the 'Act of Union' onward, and, generally speaking, the 19th century as a whole, can also be seen as a crucial period concerning to creation of the Irish-Gaelic identity. Cultural nationalism was not only nurtured by the Catholic religion (it has to be noted that cultural nationalism first emerged in Ireland in the 18th century among the Irish Protestant settlers), the 19th century in Ireland can be characterized by Gaelic revivalism as well. Over the centuries of political dependence, the Irish almost entirely lost their own language, something which began even before the 19th century, when their language had been banished from parliament, the courts of law, from town and country government, from the civil service and from the upper levels of commercial life. In the early 19th century, the capacity to speak the Irish language was a characteristic of the lowest social class and was seen as the language of the countryside, and it was associated with ignorance, political impotence and inferiority. In the year 1968, Professor Greene in an RTÉ (the national radio and television channel) interview concerning the sacrifice of the Irish language, emphasised the striking speed with which the Irish language vanished:

“If we look at Ireland hundred years ago, we are immediately struck by the fact that the rate of change of language...from Irish to English had no parallel anywhere in Europe, and hardly even in America, for it was carried through in two generations rather than three.”⁹⁷

While in 1841 fifty percent of 8 million of the Irish population spoke Irish, ten years later, in 1851 the number dropped down to 23%, and at the end of the century, in 1891, just before the Gaelic League was founded, 14% of the Irish were able to communicate with their own language. Dr. Mauren Wall explains the impact of the National School education system brought in by the English on the lost of the Irish language by stating the following:

⁹⁷ Professor Greene on an RTÉ interview 1968 in: Paor de Liam: Milestones in Irish History, Dublin, 1986, p. 84-85

“The pressure of six hundred years of foreign occupation and more particularly the complicated political, religious and economic pressures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had killed Irish at the top of the social scale and had already weakened its position among the entire population of the country.”⁹⁸

1893 was the year when the “Gaelic League” was founded, an organisation whose primary objective was to keep the Irish language spoken, and which understood itself as a non-political (even though it was always closely connected to Irish nationalism) association, whose purpose was the diffusion of the Irish culture. In succession, the League established branches throughout the country, where they offered an adult and community education in the Irish language. Besides, a weekly bilingual paper was published and succeeded in implementing the Irish language in schools. As a result of this, the language experienced a romantic linguistic revival; the Irish population of the 19th century, in particular the middle and upper class discovered their interest in the Irish culture and language, but due to its bad image, the language didn’t prevail.

In 1884, ten years earlier, another hugely important organisation concerning the promotion of the Irish cultural identity was founded: the GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association). The GAA represented not only a tight connection with other organizations, which were actually active in supporting Irish nationalism, it also stood in particular for an Irish cultural revival. Its significance as a historical pillar for promoting Irish nationalism has its origin especially in the fact that it can be regarded a staple feature of community life across the island right up to the present day. As Prof. Mike Cronin claims:

“Except for the Catholic Church, and perhaps Fianna Fáil, no single Irish Organisation had a relationship with its community of followers and supporters that inspired such loyalty.”⁹⁹

Many observers regard the emergence of Irish cultural nationalism and, in particular, the power of Irish literature and language as a tool, which supported the process and transformation, which ultimately led to the Irish Free State. Ireland, which suffered from an age-long cultural isolation, finally found ways to that reflect about its own cultural roots.

⁹⁸ Dr. Mauren in: Paor de Liam: Milestones in Irish History, Dublin, 1986, p. 88

⁹⁹ in: Mullholland, J.: The Soul of Ireland, Issues of Society, Culture and Identity, Essays From The 2006 Macgill Summer School, Dublin, 2006, p.193

Besides the Gaelic League, the Irish writer group called the “Celtic Revival” began to centre on traditional Irish literature and Irish poetry focusing on a self-conscious Irish identity. Many Irish writers and authors engaged also in the national discussions of the country. Several approach to a political independence of Ireland were articulated in particular by William Butler Yeats, Daniel Cockery, Padraic Colum who worked on the idea of founding the Irish nation along an “Irish narrative”. Cleeve, in his book concerning the Irish identity claims that in the tragic events of the Easter rising in 1916 the

“...the political nationalism and the Cultural Revival Movement become one and the same”¹⁰⁰

At the turn of the 20th century the four main nationalist associations, namely the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sinn Fein, the Irish Brotherhood and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Irish Catholic fraternal organization closely associated with the Irish Parliamentary Party, which emerged in Ulster in opposition to the Protestant Orange Order in the 19th century) together with the non-political organisations, based more on the cultural aspect, such as the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic League staged their ideological programme to promote Irish nationalism. With the nationalistic ideological legacy of the previous century, the period of 1916-1921 can be characterized as crucial in terms of the transformation of all the emerging nationalist debates into a narrative of the Irish nation. With the independent Free State in 1921, Irish nationalism achieved its main goals and demands. The introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1912, the following insurrections in Westminster, the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Easter risings in 1916, the outbreak of the guerrilla war in 1918 with the end of the World War I showed its consequences in the political opening of Britain towards negotiation concerning an independent nation state Ireland. The outbreak of the Word War I and Britain’s participation was definitely the event, which made the Irish believe in a chance of a separate state. The Easter Rising in 1916 has to be seen as a hugely important historical moment, because it expressed this concept of separatist nationalism, which after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1880 as a goal became politically relevant, even if it didn’t become fully fulfilled in 1921.

¹⁰⁰ Cleeve, B. Talbot: A View of the Irish, London, 1983, p. 24

The Easter Rising and its cruelty became also a point of reference for many Irish writers who were deeply shocked by this event. In particular Yeats, O'Casey and Joyce criticised the tyranny of the British colonialism but in the same time the Irish nationalism and its connection with armed violence. In W. B. Yeats's poem "Easter, 1916" as well as Sean O'Casey's play *The Plough and the Stars* both writers put skeptical questions about a violent Irish nationalism in the fore, even if they advocate an Ireland free from colonial rule¹⁰¹.

In sum, the Easter rising and, in consequence, the founding of the Free State, opened the Irish political modernity, which was strongly influenced (especially at the beginning of the resistance movements) by the republican concepts, whereby political and cultural nationalism had to be regarded as combined; both political and cultural nationalism produced a political culture

*"...in which ethnos and demos were effectively equated, political liberty tended towards cultural authoritarianism, and the idea of self-determination, the nation's right to autonomy, mutated into the right of the nation to decide who should belong to it and under which terms."*¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ The Norton Anthology of English literature
http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/20century/topic_3_05/welcome.htm

¹⁰² Finlay: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin 2004, p.198

Irish national identity in the context of independence and creation of the Irish Free State

“Modernisation, in terms of modernisation theory, has been understood as standing in opposition to tradition or affecting a radical break with it. In Ireland, the chief repository of tradition has come to be seen as the debate of the nation, and the political movement known as nationalism.”¹⁰³

Ireland's pathway to nationhood was the logical outcome of a long-lasting struggle with the colonial power Britain. Nationhood then not only meant a newly achieved freedom to build a independent state based on a culturally -bonded population, but also opened the debate about how to cope with the past which seemed to have lacked the own individuality. Obviously, the debate about post-colonialism and autonomy is a very crucial feature of every nationality, which came out of a colonial status. Nationalism as ideology thus becomes a concept which in the aftermath of the actual creation of the state, or in other words, in the period of post-colonialism, involves rethinking, repositioning and revising the idea of being or having a nation-state. O'Mahony and Delanty deliver the following general insight concerning the situation of the colonized country:

“...post-colonialism makes the crucial identification of who is the coloniser and who is the colonised- it also morally evaluates this colonial relationship as one of the fundamental inequality, in which a wrong is done the colonised, whose integrity, space and identity is taken over and controlled against his/her will.”¹⁰⁴

Ireland's relationship with its colonizer came partly to terms with the newly achieved sovereignty, which was provided, by the Treaty (and as a further element with the advancement of the state's legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens) and the declaration of neutrality¹⁰⁵. Ireland's neutrality (the only state within the Commonwealth which pursued neutrality during World War II) was seen as a core element of Irish sovereignty and independence. Another way of dealing with the colonial power and the colonial history was to establish a homogeneous view of the 'true Irish'. The term can be found in Catholic Irish nationalist rhetoric during the 20th century negating the sense of inferiority within the

¹⁰³ Cohor McCarthy in: O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p.14

¹⁰⁴ O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p. 82

¹⁰⁵ Neutrality which was introduced by de Valera meant to him the right to self-determination and sovereignty in the face of the unresolved issue of partition.

relationship with Britain. Kuhling and Keohande reason and explain how essential it was for the nation building for Ireland to strongly underpin a monocultural homogeneous Irish identity for the nation building, before and after Independence:

“The emerging Irish nation state set about establishing and supporting a very particular set of organisations and institutions such as the Catholic Church, republican parties, the Irish language crusade and the Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA), which became markers of national ‘authenticity’. The reification of these organisations and the ‘traditions’ they supported had the effect of falsely homogenising Irish culture and of existing cultural forms deemed to be other...”¹⁰⁶

From the Treaty up to recent days, as Richard Kearney, Professor at the University College Dublin claims, Irish identity and cultural debate have been associated with questions of sovereignty and with a general political debate. As Andrew Finlay points out, in the residual debate of autonomy, Irish nationalism is basically used to protect Irish cultural identity and sovereignty¹⁰⁷ Kearney states in that regard that especially the situation in Northern Ireland, despite the Good Friday Agreement, still renders the ideological nationalism for Ireland crucial. Obviously the condition of the partition also called into question the features and political ethos of the new national Irish state. John Hume, co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, passionate EU advocate and former politician of Northern Ireland, reflecting on the importance of the Irish nationality, states in 1990:

“Given our island setting, our history of colonialization and our wounds of division it is understandable that so much of our political thought and approach should hinge on the nation state.”¹⁰⁸

The period in the aftermath of the newly created nation state was also marked by the establishment of an Irish foreign policy, which in particular focused on the relations between Britain and Ireland and Ireland’s position within the Commonwealth. Foreign policy from the

¹⁰⁶ Kuhling, Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, UK, 2007 p.67

¹⁰⁷ Finlay, A.: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p.64

¹⁰⁸ Hume, J.: Europe of the Regions in: Across the Frontiers Ireland in 1990s, Dublin, 1988, p.45

Irish political view has been seen as a means for claiming Irish individuality. As the Irish Foreign Minister in the White Paper on Irish foreign policy 1996 pointed out:

*“Irish foreign policy is about much more than self-interest. The elaboration of our foreign policy is also a matter of self-definition - simply put, it is for many for us a statement of the kind of people that we are.”*¹⁰⁹

Irish foreign policy as a tool to cope with the British colonialization period was changed chiefly under Fianna Fáil under the leadership of Eamon de Valera who began to deconstruct the Treaty. This political strategy is also considerably visible in one of the first acts of the Irish Free State, which was to apply for the membership of the League of Nations and as a protest against Britain in the rejection of a NATO membership. Additionally, Ireland's policy makers within the scope of the United Nations are described as extremely sensitive to appeals based on nationalism and anticolonialism. Ben Tonra concerning Ireland's attempt to expand its political independence argues:

*“Establishing a powerful Irish narrative, however, required more than embassies, flags and passports – debates about each of which served only to highlight the qualified nature of the state's independence. To address this issue directly, consecutive Free State governments set out to maximise the independent capacity of the state.”*¹¹⁰

Speaking about Irish political independence implies coming back to the Treaty, the chief historical event of Irish history in the 20th century. As pointed out before, Irish foreign policy was a crucial means to define Irish identity against outsiders; in particular it supported the Irish individuality in its relationship to Britain. In order to reinforce the Irish identity code within its own boundaries, it is also critical to unite the insiders. The Treaty hence had a major importance for the Irish themselves as well. Looking at the history at the time of independence, it seemed extremely difficult to link Irish identity to one specific institutional ideology. Ireland, which, before becoming independent, was home to Gaelic and Anglo-Irish, Catholic and Protestant, republican and unionist, suddenly had to address its own sovereignty. Logically, formulating the content of the Treaty in the view of the varying nationalist movements was not a project based on consensus. O'Mahony and Delanty describe the different Irish views which arose in the light of the achieved sovereignty:

¹⁰⁹ Documents of Irish Foreign Policy in: <http://www.difp.ie/>

¹¹⁰ Tonra, B.: *Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition*, Manchester 2001, p.24

“To some it showed the way to a conservative, Catholic social order. To others, it promised a society that would be fairer and more just. To yet others, it revealed the power of force as a means of settling disputes over political authority.”¹¹¹

The final version of the Treaty, the supposed final termination of the ideology of nationalist movements by transforming a modern mass national identity into the institutionalisation of a modern nation-state, contained the creation of the Irish state similar to the State of Canada, which meant that Ireland still remained within the British Empire (full autonomy in domestic policy but not in foreign policy). The idea of separatist nationalism became confined by the fact that the six counties in Ulster were excluded from the Irish Free State and led to the civil war, which broke out in 1922 and lasted until 1923. Prager describes the civil war, which owed more to the unpopularity of the oath than to the Ulster question, as a collision between supporters of the Irish – Enlightenment (pro-Treaty) and supporter of the Gaelic-Romantic (rejected the Treaty). The Church, even though having a strained relationship with the Republicans (didn't share their values), placed itself in the pro-Treaty camp.

As mentioned earlier, Irish nationalism was always a product of a multi-faceted nationalist mobilisation, this led to the fact that these different nationalist movements, respectively pro- or anti-Treaty supporters regarded the other as less Irish than themselves. Another question, which arose in this context of the Treaty, was related to a pluralist (giving full recognition to the Protestant Anglo-Irish and the settlers) or mono-cultural (primacy of the native Gaelic and Catholic church) model of the Irish state.¹¹² The outcome of the civil war gave a response to those questions. The victory of the Free State forces and supporters of the Treaty permitted the party Cumann na nGaedheal (the Irish name to two political parties, the second of which became Fine Gael) and the Church to institutionalise their narratives of the Irish nation (the defeated Republicans, even though they won twenty seven per cent of the poll in the election, refused to take their seats in the parliament). National identity in Ireland, not only the years after the Treaty, also decades later were constructed and spread by the conservative Catholic nationalistic wing amongst the Irish nationalistic movements. Due to unwillingness to open towards other political parties and their programmes, Cumann na nGaedheal and the Church shaped the feature of national identity of the early independence years by mutual collaboration. O'Mahony and Delanty characterize this common national project as follows:

¹¹¹ O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p.130

¹¹² Doherty, Keogh: De Valera's Ireland, Cork, 2003, p.187

*“The identity project they mutually developed was immunised from testing by means of a strong, agreed authoritarianism. In the absence of a social programme of its own, Cumann na nGaedheal adopted that of the Church and transferred the Church’s social authoritarianism into the state’s basic attitude.”*¹¹³

Thus, the period between the rise of nationalistic movements in Ireland and the 50s of the last century was marked by a cultural anti-modern and politically authoritarian system. The reason for these conditions can be found in the central role of the Catholic Church in Irish society. The previously mentioned authors state three causes for the fact that the Church was an indispensable ally in building new institutions and supplying cultural legitimacy:

- they were allies in the Civil War, the support for the stabilisation of the regime was thus inevitable
- the struggle for Irish independence represented the struggle for the right to live a Catholic life
- the party Cumann na Gaedheal had no ideological legacy to play cultural politics¹¹⁴

Not surprisingly, unlike the other European constitutions of that time, which refer to individual autonomy and inalienable human rights, the Irish constitution of 1937 attached more importance to the role of the family and the general Catholic collectivity than to rights of the single citizen. As the journalist Stanley Gebler Davies stated, by explaining to English readers the relationship between Ireland as a Catholic country and the Irish nation:

*“Éire is not a foreign country, but it is a Catholic country.”*¹¹⁵

Or, as Angela Clifford claims in *The Constitutional History of Éire/Ireland*:

“The Church has been the guiding influence on the politics of the nation since the fall of Parnell. It determined the inner life of the nation, and later it determined the inner life of the State. All parties and all Governments have functioned within its ambience. When the Church

¹¹³ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p.136

¹¹⁴ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p. 133

¹¹⁵ McGuinness: Building Trust in Ireland, Studies Commissioned by the Forum For Peace and Reconciliation, Dublin 1996, p.20

was a sphere of eternal certainty, the nation and the State had a sense of purpose. And when the Church internationally went into crisis, nationalist Ireland became confused.”¹¹⁶

Particularly, the Church acquired immense power over health and education, family life (strict control over sexuality, abortion and divorce), art, culture and was even able to prevent criticism through the agency of the state. At the centre of the Church’s ambition in shaping Irish identity traits was the rural civilisation, which showed no interest in socio- economic innovations, thus the Church’s project based on simplicity and peasant virtues and aversion towards social, economic and cultural innovations could be furthered. The first twenty years of Independence therefore favoured only one identity code which

*“...rejected the outside, sanctified the conventionalism of a Catholic way of life for all social strata, and sought to impose as social system in which equality and functional de-differentiation and stasis were acceptable.”*¹¹⁷

The Church’s influence over decades after the civil war has had a huge impact on the general Irish political culture, even to this day. As Schmitts points out, authoritarianism and personalism – features which still characterize Irish social relations which have contributed to the fact that Irish democracy is seen by many as “paradoxical”, “ironic” and “unique”¹¹⁸ – have their roots in the period when the Church and its influence spectrum over the civil life was hugely potent¹¹⁹. As Chichowski states, Irish political culture,

*“...is characterized by high levels of system support, relatively low levels of active participation in the political system and high levels of social trust.”*¹²⁰

Hence, due to its qualities, authoritarianism and personalism has significantly accounted for the stability of Irish democracy for more than 70 years. The public share became marginalized and consequently national identity thus transformed to an imprint of the values of Catholic conservative communitarianism. Culture or cultural political pluralism stagnated and at the same time cultural national identity unified. Piaras Mac, Prof. in the Irish Centre for

¹¹⁶ Angela Clifford in: McGuinness, C.: Building Trust in Ireland, Studies Commissioned By The Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, Dublin, 1996. p.21

¹¹⁷ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p.155

¹¹⁸ Chichowski, R.: Sustaining Democracy, A Study of Authoritarianism and Personalism in Irish Political Culture, California, 2000, in: <http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1084&context=csd>

¹¹⁹ Schmitt, D: The Irony of Irish Democracy, Toronto 1973 p.24

¹²⁰ Chichowski, R.: Sustaining Democracy, A Study of Authoritarianism and Personalism in Irish Political Culture, California, 2000, in: <http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1084&context=csd>

Migration Studies in Cork, in his article *Cultural identity and political transformation* emphasizes how significantly important it was in Ireland for the first forty years of existence to promote a unified cultural identity:

“The official cultural identity ...reflected a dominant, unitary concept of Irishness. Apart from its explicit content – the ending of Partition, the restoration of the Irish language, Catholic domination, the secondary status of women, the privileging of rural over urban identities – there was an underlying assumption that difference meant inferiority, or at least, that the different should be isolated or remain silent.”¹²¹

As one can see in the table below, still today there is a strong link between national identity (in terms of being Irish) and being Catholic in the Republic of Ireland; these are the results of a survey conducted by the European Value Study in 1999- 2000¹²² between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: 98.9% of the Catholics in the Republic of Ireland are committed to an Irish national identity. By contrast, in Northern Ireland national identity is more differentiated and generally speaking the Northern Ireland population tend to see themselves as British (44.7%) while the Protestants feel the strongest bond to a British identity (75.8%).

Historically, the first slight change in contemplating Catholicism as something unique to guarantee Irish national identity occurred by the time when Fianna Fáil, the current most powerful political party in Ireland which came out of the Sinn Féin party, won the elections in 1932. As O’Mahony and Delanty state, the old identity building project conducted by Cumann na nGaedheal and the Church

“...had overreached itself because the emphasis on moral and evaluative dimensions of identity, and the corresponding need for social stasis, were so extreme as to allow virtually no breathing space for addressing social inequality, the suppression of individual rights, or the poor performance of administration or the economy.”¹²³

As many intellectuals claim, Fianna Fáil (its hegemony lasted for over forty years) didn’t come to power because of its different view of Irish nationalism, but by the way that it

¹²¹ Piaras Mac : Cultural Identity And Political Transformation, The Irish Association Annual Conference, 11-12 October in 2002: <http://migration.ucc.ie/irishassociationpme.htm>

¹²² Fatrey, Hayes, Simnott: Conflict and Consensus, Identity. London, 1996,p. 61

¹²³ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p.146

succeeded in mobilizing the electors by promoting economic development (in particular by supporting small producers and native industrial manufacturers) and the provision of a welfare system. Ireland then totally lacked – as a result of British colonial politics – entrepreneurship and was still sustaining the fiefdom of the Church and clerical nationalism due to its ability to grant political legitimacy and social solidarity, Fianna Fáil campaigned for a social change, notably in economy (economic protectionism which led to a significant fortification of the native small industrial class), welfare and the constitutional framework. In literature, one can find the indication that Fianna Fáil, by focusing on improving the economic situation, added to the previous national identity code the idea of ‘Ireland to the Irish’ and the cult of the ‘small men’. Politically this partly new national code was embedded in the authoritarianism, personalism, clientelist politics and the erosion of the autonomy of the public sphere mentioned before. Fianna Fáil’s rigid protectionist policy programme showed its side effect on the cultural sphere as well, which is to say that Fianna Fáil with its policies contributed also to an isolationist identity.

Despite the outstanding significance of the Catholic Church, only in the 50s did Ireland show acceptance of a growing secularisation, which went along with an established state welfare provision. These changes were caused by a general disastrous economic situation, the conclusion that the Catholic principles of social organisation turned out to be outdated and a lack of flexibility of the civil society. In this political cultural reform climate which ensued a period of cultural and economic isolationism, the national identity code led to

“...the addition of economic modernisation goals as a key goal of the society and the re-specification of ideas of justice and collective good less in terms of property, frugality and spiritual fulfilment and more in terms of standard of living and fairness of life opportunities.”¹²⁴

By focusing on Ireland's own economic development (it started in the 40s and it became more visible by establishing the Programme of Economic Expansion in 1958 which lasted until the 70s, it was based mainly on attracting foreign investment by Multinational Corporations). The 1960s, as in other western countries too, were marked by a cultural shift and the emergence of new cultural identities. In this context, due to the loss of significance of national identity in its

¹²⁴ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p. 167

predominant role of organising social life and providing the only accepted values, by the 1970s Irish society had reached a transitional state in which the Church held still an operational control over education, health, art and culture, but there were unmistakable signs of a new vitality of intellectual life, enhanced deliberative powers of the public sphere and a growing autonomy of civil society. With the beginning of the technological era, the emergence of a secular intelligentsia, media power and a generally more liberal climate, the classical values of Irish political culture, authoritarianism, personalism and secrecy partly had to set the course for more autonomous and vital civil society with different values on social and moral questions. In this very crucial period in Irish history concerning its identity code, for the first time, a new democratic political identity arose, which not only allowed an increased political pluralism, but also was uncoupled from national identity. Thus

“...national identity became only one form of identity and no longer dominated all social spheres. The new national identity code which began simultaneously to interpenetrate with the older code and with the new expression of cultural identity was more reflexively articulated as a conscious product of lifestyle.”¹²⁵

In the 70s two major political events had an immense impact on the national Irish identity: the outbreak of the Northern Ireland conflict after 1969 and Ireland's accession to the European Union. With the Northern Ireland conflict, the Republic could not find a nationalist political consensus or a political direction, far from it, the conflict was seen as an unnecessary burden and a background nightmare. Only with the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985 the concepts nationalism, statehood and territoriality became newly interpreted and the Republic was forced to modify its political culture. The consequences of the Anglo-Irish Agreement can be seen in a new activism on behalf of the Republic in collaborating with Britain. Concerning the Irish national identity code, two different strands can be seen: a part of the Irish population has a hostile view of the political nationalism of Catholics in Northern Ireland. The second view is linked to recent developments in cultural nationalism and historical writing on Irish nationalism. This Irish national identity code is open to include the concerns of the Northern Ireland 'nationalists' and tends to expand its cultural spread even beyond political frontiers by promoting new politics of identity.

¹²⁵ O'Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p. 169

Irish national identity and accession to the EC

The isolationism, which Ireland experienced for nearly a half century, was replaced by Ireland's decision to join the European Community in 1972. The decision to join the EU found support throughout the Irish society and from the entire the media. Membership of the EU according to the Copenhagen criteria means that Ireland had to have

*"...achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and, protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union"*¹²⁶

Contemplating the decision to become a member of the EU from the foreign policy point of view, it was Britain's decision in 1961 to apply for EC membership, which not only provoked Ireland to a parallel initiative, but also opened the way for the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1965. The accession to the EC once more showed Ireland's neo-colonial relationship with Britain. As Seán Lemass, the Taoiseach at the time claimed:

*"It was Britain's decision to apply for membership that opened the way to our own application"*¹²⁷

As the Taoiseach stated further:

*"First Britain lost the opportunity of exploiting us...(and) for our industrial goods we now gained access to the fast- growing EC market instead of being confined to the slow-growing British market...with the ending of economic independence we acquired a new self-confidence and became an equal partner with Britain in a new multilateral context of the EC. We are no longer traumatised by the old intense bilateral relationship of a dependant character."*¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Copenhagen Criteria, Copenhagen European Council 1993, 7.A.iii
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/ec/pdf/cop_en.pdf

¹²⁷ Tonra, B.: Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition, Manchester 2001, p. 30

¹²⁸ Tonra, B.: Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition, Manchester 2001, p. 31

A very fundamental reason why Ireland supported the decision to join the EC crops up in the fact, that Ireland saw in European Integration the preservation of its own political and economic autonomy from Britain or global American transnational corporations. Opting for the European Community for many Irish was seen as a way out of poverty and failure. But not only that; a Catholic bishop, before the actual entry, described in the *Irish Times* the immense impact of the entry on Ireland by stating that the shift will be changing

“...our national life at every level: religious, cultural, intellectual and social: will be profoundly affected by the step we are about to take.”¹²⁹

Even if in that statement the entry in the European Community is evaluated more than positively, the Church also saw in accession a negative side, Ireland would become more secular, individualistic and materialistic. Nevertheless, in the view of Ireland’s protectionism (economic, social and cultural) over the decades, this statement referred to a new chapter of openness, which would bring a blast of fresh air to Ireland’s stable structures. Rory O’Donnell in his book *Europe, The Irish Experience* claims that there is no contradiction between being a part of Europe and being Irish, on the contrary:

“Today, we realise that openness is more conducive to keeping us Irish, that Europe is the context in which we can be more comfortably ourselves. We have come to realise that Ireland will succeed in retaining what is distinctive and particular by being part of a European Universal, a coherent cultural tradition, still perhaps fragmented but one which retains some of its inspiration and influence.”¹³⁰

In similar words, the government’s White Paper (published shortly after the popular referendum in 1972) debates ways for Ireland as a very small country to exercise national sovereignty and to vindicate national interests in a globalised world:

“The answer presented was to ‘share’ or ‘pool’ sovereignty in collective European institutions and policies.”¹³¹

¹²⁹ Irish Times 29.12.1972 in: O’Donnell: *Europe, The Irish Experience*, Dublin 2000 p. 56

¹³⁰ O’Donnell: *Europe, The Irish Experience*, Dublin 2000 p. 59

¹³¹ Tonra, B.: *Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition*, Manchester 2001, p. 56

Ben Tonra claims in *The narrative of the European Republic* that from the cultural or even national point of view, Ireland as a European Republic can be sourced from several different realms. Historically, Irish migration both of ideas and people to the European continent (particularly concerning Irish monasticism, the ideological influence from continental Europe during the independence struggle and the emigration of Irish exiles and students mainly during the last two centuries underline this linkage between Ireland and the continental civilisation) is an example of the Irish cultural, political and philosophical bonding with Europe. Secondly, for Ireland, Europe meant the door to modernity, meaning that Ireland's accession to the EC is like an arrival at socio-economic, cultural and political European standards. This second point entirely contradicts the identity code, which was valid in Ireland for more than a century; especially it rejects de Valera's concept of 'Irish Ireland'.

*"...that was to have been populated by 'god-fearing, rural people who eschewed the excesses of materialism'"*¹³²

Thirdly, Tonra suggests, being a member of the EC, it also meant for Ireland a way of emancipation from post-colonialism. Politically, economically and psychologically accession to the EC opened a view to face the relationship with Britain. Finally, even in the Northern Ireland conflict, Ireland's membership of the EC delivered progress in the mutual attitudes of the British and Irish and facilitated agreements such as *the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985)*; *the Downing Street Declaration (1993)*, *the New Framework for Agreement (1995)*, and *The Agreement (1998)*. European modernity is the key concept, collecting bond of Ireland's political and social maturation. In line with Tonra, the *The Irish Times* in its editorial comment on the day of the referendum stated:

*"...our nationalism was asserted not to spend eternity in self-regarding self-satisfaction; instead, EC membership might become one of the final steps in the re-establishment of Ireland as a nation."*¹³³

¹³² Tonra, B.: *Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition*, Manchester 2001, p. 54

¹³³ *The Irish Times*, May 10, 1972, in: <http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/frontpage/2008/0430/>

That this statement is also controversial cannot be denied, particularly as underlined in the previous chapter concerning the relationship between globalisation and culture. Seán Mac Bride, a former left wing politician, warned before the Irish referendum on EC membership:

*“...we are now being engulfed more and more into an Anglo-American pseudo civilisation. Our only escape is to balance this virtual monopoly with the influence of French, Italian and Scandinavian cultural standards. Our Irish identity is much more like to survive.”*¹³⁴

Many Irish politicians, especially John Hume, MP and MEP, regard accession to the EC as a tool to open the own national barriers, which, in the case of the Irish, meant that Europeanization offered a means for reconciling conflicting nationalism issues, particularly in the view of the Northern Ireland conflict. Richard Kearney, as well as John Hume, an advocate of the term post-nationalism, pointing out Ireland's new international standing due to the entry in the EC, claims:

*“Ireland can no longer be contained within the frontiers of an island. Since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Single European Act, we find ourselves committed to a new ‘totality of relationships extending well beyond the limits of the nation state.’”*⁶¹³⁵

Even if the entry to the EC has had such a positive response from most Irish political leaders and intelligentsia, through the entry Ireland experienced a new openness towards outside influences, which would then become extremely significant and sustainable when one thinks about the globalisation process. This situation was perceived differently, many considered it as

*“...added to the fragmentation of a homogeneous cultural identity and to the sense of cultural uprooting...for others, it has meant new opportunities for the expression of a distinctive lifestyle...”*¹³⁶

Despite this listing of positive reactions to the entry in the EC, the Irish political debate before the Nice Treaty in 2001 (which was then in the first referendum rejected by a majority of fifty-four to forty-six per cent) created an atmosphere in which the Celtic Tiger displayed the

¹³⁴ Tonra, B.: *Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition*, Manchester 2001, p. 55

¹³⁵ Kearney R.: *Across the Frontiers, Ireland in 1990s*, Dublin 1988, p.96

¹³⁶ O'Mahony, Delanty: *Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology*, New York 1998, p. 178

function of giving the impression of Ireland's independence and political autonomy especially with respect to the EU. Particularly the influence of American economy in Ireland led to the assertion to view America as a part of its national development strategy. Not surprisingly, in literature the dependency on the American economy often is regarded as bringing Ireland a 'general autonomy'. In such a political debate

*"...of an autonomous strong Irish culture aligned with Ireland's new economy autonomy ... (produced)...a political fear of losing power within the EU decision-making institutions."*¹³⁷

In this political climate of hostility towards the EU, the Prime Minister and Minister of the Department for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, Mary Harney, emphasised economic independence (as a reason she stressed Ireland's own decision to become dependent on America) and concerning Ireland's relationship with Europe and America she stated:

*"...geographically we are closer to Berlin than Boston. Spiritually we are probably a lot closer to Boston than Berlin."*¹³⁸

In a similar way, Síle de Valera, the Minister for Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht in 2000 speaking in Boston at a College, emphasized Irish benefit from the EU, but claimed at the same time that the EU would not be a 'cornerstone' of the Irish national identity; on the contrary, EU cultural directives and regulations threatened cultural autonomy and national identity. President Mary Harney, speaking at a meeting of the *American Bar Association* in 2000, warned against a centralized Europe and claimed that she believed in

*"...a Europe of independent states, not a United States of Europe..."*¹³⁹

The Nice referendum – as in the case of the Lisbon referendum, Ireland was the only country within the EU to hold a referendum – showed the consequences of the political debate, which existed during the years of the growing Celtic Tiger. Even if a Euro barometer survey, conducted at the time when the first referendum was held, showed that the Irish remained

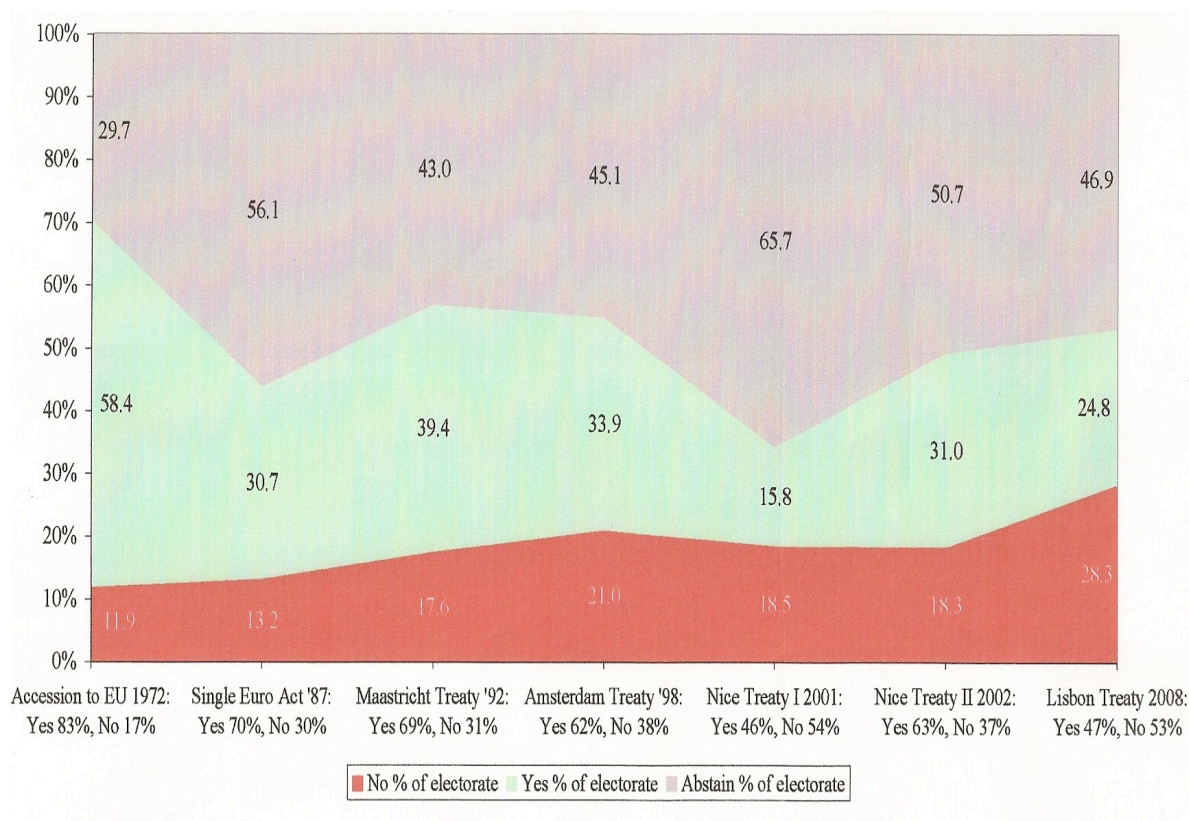
¹³⁷ Finlay, A.: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p.66

¹³⁸ Finlay, A.: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p.67

¹³⁹ Irish Times, 21/07/2000 in:

<http://www.iandrinstitute.org/New%20IRI%20Website%20Info/I&R%20Research%20and%20History/I&R%20Studies/Qvortrup%20-%20Ireland's%20Nice%20Referendum.pdf>

very enthusiastic about the EU membership, and despite the fact that earlier polls predicted a relatively easy win, the main statistical evidence (besides the fact that the no-campaigning parties succeeded in maintaining unity) for the Irish ‘no’ in this regard lies in a ‘pro-independence’ attitude among the population.



Outcome in the European Referendum in Ireland as a percentage of the electorate 1972-2008¹⁴⁰

While the European press attacked Ireland as ‘l’enfant terrible’ (*Le Monde*) or as a European country now suffering from the selfish syndrome ‘full stomach’ (*Corriere della sera*), one week after the referendum results were announced, the *Daily Telegraph* (an Irish daily newspaper), by publishing the following statement, viewed the situation differently:

“Many Europeans believe – wrongly – that Ireland’s prosperity is thanks to them, and resent what they see as Irish ingratitude. ‘They were happy enough when it was take, take, take’,

¹⁴⁰ Euro barometer 2007 Ireland: ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb67/eb67_ie_exec.pdf

said a normally mild – mannered Spanish MEP ‘but it’s a different story when it comes to sharing money with new countries.’”¹⁴¹

The outcome of the referendum caused a lot of questioning and seeking of appropriate answers in the rest of Europe as well: while few saw the reason in the threat to the Irish Neutrality, others argued that the Irish were afraid of the economic consequences of the enlargement. Fintan O’Toole, a journalist of the *Irish Times*, framed the reason for the referendum ‘No’ (54% of those who voted rejected the treaty) in a general alienation from the whole political system:

“...there is a big, largely unmapped, terrain of resentment, suspicion and anger. Those who occupy it are more cynical than apathetic. They have been disillusioned by the endless tales of corruption in politics. They are haunted by a vague but powerful feeling that their Republic has been stolen from them, that the State is no longer theirs...”¹⁴²

As the positive outcome of the second referendum held only a year later indicates, it wouldn’t be appropriate to translate the first ‘no’ by a simple Irish rejection of the EU or European integration including enlargement, rather the political debate changed completely. As the former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern points out a month before the second referendum:

“Let us be absolutely clear, our current economic prosperity, our current standing in the world, the rapid technological, economic and social change that Ireland has undergone over the last 30 years, stems directly from our absolute engagement with Europe...”¹⁴³

The Nice referendum was not the first time that the Irish voters refused the ratification of a European Treaty. Ireland as the only country within the EU held a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty on the 12.06.2008 and rejected it by 53,4 per cent to 46,6 per cent. Despite the fact that Ireland’s support of the EU and the European Integration have remained high over the last decades (in comparison, across the other member states it has declined), still more than 80 percent of the Irish population think that Ireland has benefited from the membership (the

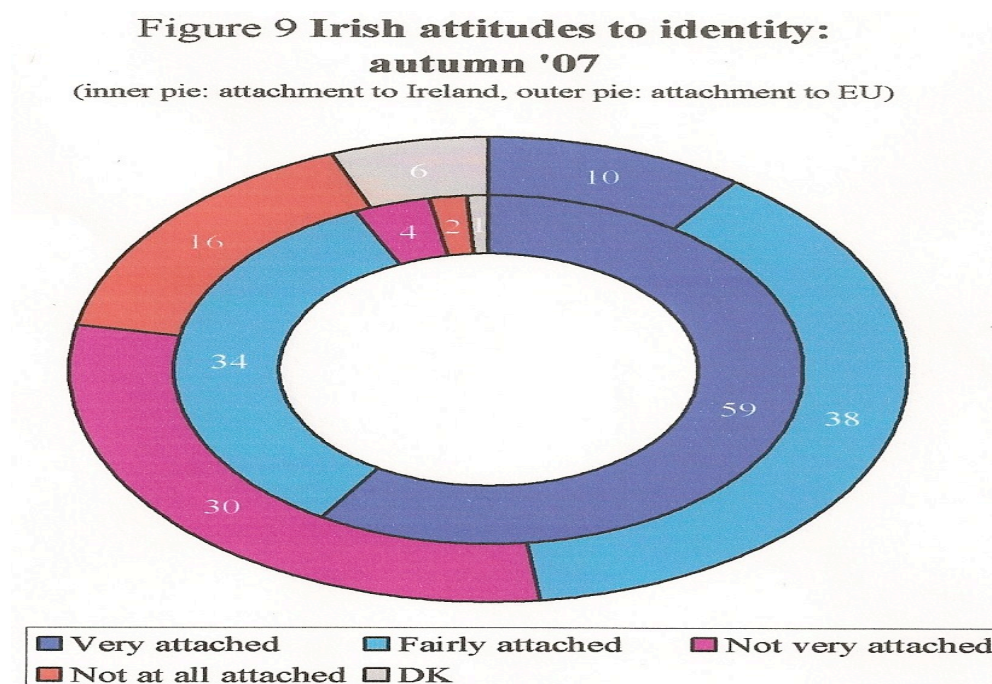
¹⁴¹ Daily Telegraph, 17. June 2001 in: Holmes, Michael: Ireland and the European Union, Nice, Enlargement and the Future of Europe; Manchester, 2005, p. 23

¹⁴² O’Mahony, J.: Ireland and the European Union in: Collins and Cradden: Political issues in Ireland today, Manchester 2004, p. 26-27

¹⁴³ Finlay, A.: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p.75

highest percentage in Europe) and Ireland's higher trust in political institutions than domestic institutions (even if there is an increase in support for the Irish government having sole policy responsibility in all policy domains) – as the Euro barometer figures show –, strikingly, Ireland voted no to the Treaty.

Given these attitudes, many may question why Ireland refused a referendum again. A post-referendum survey conducted by Gallup for the European Commission¹⁴⁴ displays some of the reasons. The most frequent explanation of the 46 per cent of abstentions and the reasons for voting 'no' was a lack of understanding the issues involved or just not knowing enough about the Treaty. As the figures below show, interestingly 12 per cent of the electorate who voted 'no' wanted to protect Irish identity. For voting 'yes' there were two main reasons: 'it was in the best interests of Ireland' and 'it will help the Irish economy'. The outcome of the referendum also clearly showed that occupation was closely associated with support or rejection of the Treaty. Professionals, self-employed people and senior managers supported the Treaty, while workers refused it.



The figure shows the difference between the Irish attitude to Irish identity and European identity¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ It was conducted between Friday 13 June and Sunday 15 June. 2000 randomly selected adults were interviewed by telephone. The report is available at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/flash/fl_245_en.pdf

¹⁴⁵ Euro barometer 69.2 Spring 2008, National Report, Executive Summary Ireland: ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb67/eb67_ie_exec.pdf

The subject 'Identity' displayed not only one of the reasons for voting 'no', but, in the campaign running before the referendum, it was also a recurring underlying issue in Ireland. Another survey conducted by Euro barometer in autumn 2007 shows that the Irish population have a strong connection with their own country (59 per cent felt 'very attached to Ireland' while only 10 per cent felt the same about the EU). In the second question, the Irish citizens were asked whether "in the near future do you see yourself as Irish only, Irish and European, or European only?" and the great majority (59 per cent) opted clearly for a sole Irish identity.

Irish national identity in a global world

“In modern republics the origin of sovereignty is in the people, but now we recognize that we have many peoples. And many peoples mean many centres of sovereignty- we have to deal with it.”¹⁴⁶

Ireland, before experiencing the political and economic globalisation, was often described as a country in which constitutional republicanism mingled with nationalism. Accession to the EC, Ireland's membership and participation in different international institutions and 'Ireland's' embrace of the Anglo-Saxon form of globalisation led to the situation that Ireland has changed its political, economic and social shape. As Sullivan in his book *Ireland and the Global Question* claims that the previously -listed changes led not only culturally to a culture of contentment in Ireland but also politically to the fact that

“...political pragmatism has drawn Ireland closer to the neo-liberal model in respect of economic and social policies ...Though highly globalised, the role of government is small (particularly in the areas of spending, taxation, social welfare and insurance provision) and the level of human development is comparatively low...This trend suggests that economic globalisation in Ireland has proceeded with little thought for its effects on society and the broad risks that economic openness poses.”¹⁴⁷

What are those effects on society? How has the Irish national identity developed in the last decades? Can contemporary Irish culture still be analysed through the category of national identity?

For sure there are different answers, obviously depending from which point of view one approaches these questions. Many authors of political and cultural subjects in this regard suggest that Ireland's society, because of its positive disposition towards certain macro-economic aspects of globalisation, is becoming more Anglo-Saxon than European. On the other hand, contemplating Ireland as a European Republic in the era of global post-industrial capitalism opens the debate or narrative of Ireland as a global citizen. The title 'global citizen' refers not only to a new social environment in the course of time, but also to a new way of conceiving 'Irishness'. Over the last decades, the external general conditions have changed,

¹⁴⁶ Paul Ricoeur in: Kearney Richard: Post nationalist Ireland, Dublin, 2003, p. 15

¹⁴⁷ Sullivan: Ireland and the Global Question, Cork 1999, p. 58

but Irish society as a whole also had to adapt to a different situation; thus, Irish cultural and national identity as perceived by the Irish population in the past began to crumble. Piaras Mac sums the corollary effects up as follows:

*“Instead of an ethos which exalted a Catholic, consensus- based rural Ireland as the only ideal, recent years have seen the secularisation of southern life and society, the impact of feminism, the strengthening of individualism and consumerism, the more fluid relationship between Ireland and its own Diaspora (including the return of large numbers of migrants), the arrival in some numbers of new immigrants with a variety of new cultures, the ubiquitous nature of the information society, and a certain confidence and willingness to experiment and adopt new ideas and customs.”*¹⁴⁸

The stiff structure of Irish society was replaced by the fragmentation of a homogenous cultural identity, which then obviously had to open up over the last decades. Migration is the key term, which refers socially to the narrative of Ireland as a global citizen. Ireland has experienced not only an enormous influx of people mainly from Europe over the last couple of years, but much rather have migration, exile and deportation determined the Irish history for centuries, when thousands left the island in pursuit of economic and trading opportunities. Today, by virtue of the Irish Diaspora, there are 70 million people worldwide who claim Irish descent. This led to the situation that the Taoiseach in 1989 named the Irish as

*“...a great race, which has spread itself through the world, particularly in the great countries in North America and the Pacific areas”*¹⁴⁹

Looking at the Irish constitution, one can see that the term ‘nation’ is conceptualized in a gendered and ethnically specific way. The definition of ‘being Irish’ includes not only that Irish citizens are Catholics and that a woman’s place is at home, but also those who live abroad, that is to say that there is a tradition in Ireland to conceive ‘Irishness’ not as ‘simply territorial’. Article 2 of the constitution claims:

¹⁴⁸ Piaras Mac : Cultural Identity And Political Transformation, The Irish Association Annual Conference, p. 11-12 October in 2002: <http://migration.ucc.ie/irishassociationpme.htm>

¹⁴⁹ Tonra, B.: Global Citizen And European Republic, Irish Foreign Policy In Transition, Manchester 2001, p.35

“...the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage.”¹⁵⁰

In a time when nations such as Ireland have become more pluralized and have to adapt to new images about belonging, community and identity, citizenship, cultural rights and questions of participation that not only play a major role, but also refer to cultural transformation of national identity itself.¹⁵¹ The notion of ‘citizenship’ comes to the focus of interest in Ireland as well, in particular because in Ireland, as in other European countries as well, the political community cannot be codified anymore as national community. Irish national identity as a firm code of belonging and social mobilization has transformed itself into a cultural organisation.

“...Irishness refers less to an identity as such (whether personal or collective) than to a category within which different collective identities exist...”¹⁵²

Table 10.6: Percentages Who Viewed the Following as “Very Important” for Being Irish

	1995 (%)	2003 (%)	% Difference
<i>Citizenship</i>			
To have been born in Ireland	57.4	53.2	–4.2
To have Irish citizenship	65.0	58.8	–6.2
To have lived in Ireland most of one’s life	48.9	41.4	–7.5
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
To be able to speak Irish	14.4	12.7	–1.7
To be a Catholic	32.1	28.6	–3.7
To feel Irish	66.6	50.4	–16.2

Comparison between the attitude towards the importance of citizenship and ethnicity¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ <http://allaboutirish.com/library/identity/irish.shtm>

¹⁵¹ Finlay: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p. 183-185

¹⁵² Finlay: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, Dublin, 2004, p.202

Not surprisingly, in a referendum held on 11 June 2004 the Irish population had to decide over the right of citizenship, which in no other European member was granted by birth in the same manner as in Ireland. Since 1922 in Ireland article 2 in the constitution provided the law of entitlement and birthright of every person born on the island. With enormous majority, the Irish population approved the twenty-seventh amendment of the constitution of Ireland, which inserted the changed article. From then on, citizenship in Ireland was given to

“...a person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, who does not have, at the time of the birth of that person, at least one parent who is an Irish citizen or entitled to be an Irish citizen is not entitled to Irish citizenship or nationality, unless provided for by law”¹⁵⁴

Discussing citizenship and national identity in Ireland at the beginning of the 21st century, in regard to Irish national identity it has to be stated that it has to be sought amidst a plurality of other cultural forms existing beside each other in Ireland. Hence, speaking about national identity in Ireland can chiefly mean to speak about Irish nationalism as one collective code of moral belonging, and in that case it

“...still prevents the articulation of difference (and) confers continuing background social and political ‘legitimacy on the Church, underpins a political populism which is characterised by low levels of political participation and resistance to ideological innovation.”¹⁵⁵

As plural societies require recognition of differences the term of citizenship becomes evident. Post- national citizenship leads to the distinction and their assessment between the ethnic and civic dimension of national identity. In a second survey conducted by the European Values Study in 1999-2000¹⁵⁶ investigating the importance of single basis of identity or endorsement of attribute to the Irish identity in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland one can perfectly see the fragmentation of national identity in post-national times. As the survey displays, the civic dimension – respectively the Irish citizenship – of Irish identity is clearly

¹⁵³ Phádraig, Hilliard: Changing Ireland in International Comparison, Dublin, 2007 p. 40

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.irishtimes.com/focus/referendum2004/pathpoll/1084325413848.html>

¹⁵⁵ O’Mahony, Delanty: Rethinking Irish history, Nationalism, Identity and Ideology, New York 1998, p. 180

¹⁵⁶ Fatrey, Hayes, Simnott: Conflict and Consensus, Identity. London, 2000 p. 68-69

the most important attribute to the respondents in the Republic of Ireland (62 % of Catholics and 50% of the Protestants agree in it)

	(Percentages)			
	Catholic	Protestant	Non-affiliated	Total
<i>Republic of Ireland:</i>				
Irish	98.9	94.4	94.0	98.3
Other	1.1	5.6	6.0	1.7
[N]	[906]	[257]	[75]	[1,251]
<i>Northern Ireland:</i>				
British	8.0	75.8	52.6	44.7
Irish	63.6	3.0	11.9	29.2
Ulster	1.8	5.1	4.4	3.6
British-Irish*	11.6	6.5	6.7	8.5
Northern Irish	14.3	8.8	21.5	12.8
Other	0.8	0.9	3.0	1.1
[N]	[398]	[434]	[135]	[967]

The table indicates the religious identification and national identity in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland¹⁵⁷

According to Gerard Delanty, there are also some new trends in Ireland towards a civic nation, which means that globalisation and its side effects led to opportunities to redefine Ireland as a civic nation. As Delanty indicates, there are four major markers of such a trend:

- by virtue of the Good Friday Agreement and the peace process in Northern Ireland led also in the Republic to a certain creation of a politics of recognition, institutionalism of pluralism and to a change in what in national terms is perceived as identity
- a new pluralist agenda: concerning the accommodation of immigrants, minorities and indigenous groups
- Europeanization of the country
- Major shift in identity and values amongst young people¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Fatrey, Hayes, Simnott: Conflict and Consensus, Identity, London, 2000, p. 60

These four points open the question about how Ireland deals with its pluralist society, or, in Delanty's words: how is this Irish pluralist civic nation legally articulated?

At a time in which the EU constitution, which would in compliance with the Geneva Convention guarantee a common immigration policy, hasn't been ratified, every single European member state has to provide its own immigration and integration policy. Historically, the first pieces of legislation, which regulated entry to the Irish state, were the 1935 Aliens Act and the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1956, in which both distinguished explicitly between Irish citizens and 'aliens'. In recent times several papers have been published, in part based on the country's own needs, in part in reference to the EU.

The European Commission published a paper entitled "A Common Agenda for Integration" which deals with integration solely with third country immigrants and provides only fundamental guidance concerning the policy-making¹⁵⁹. Consequently the single nation states – as mentioned before – are committed to develop national integration strategies and an own national immigration policy. In a document published in 1999 on integrating immigrants, the Department of Justice and Law Reform stated that integration in Ireland had to be a two way process, because

*"...Integration is not to be confused with assimilation. Integration is a two way process that places duties and obligations on both cultural and ethnic minorities and the State to create a more inclusive society...it involves the social partners, NGOs and society as a whole."*¹⁶⁰

As the former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern states:

¹⁵⁸ Finlay: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process, London, 2000, p. 119-201

¹⁵⁹ Among those fundamental principles are: Integration has to be seen as a two way process of mutual accommodation, the provision of equal employment opportunities, acquisition of a basic knowledge of language, history and institutions, integration of immigrants into the education system, access into the governmental institutions in a non-discriminatory way, promoting active citizenship et cetera. Q.v. in: Thirteen Report: Report on Migration and Integration Policy in Ireland, in: <http://www.oireachtas.ie/viewdoc.asp?DocID=7414&CatID=78>

¹⁶⁰ Thirteenth Report On Migration and Integration Policy In Ireland, March 2007, Joint Committee on European Affairs, in: http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/committees29thdail/europeanaffairsreports/Immigration_Best_Practices.doc

“...*We need to see ourselves not just as a pluralist society but as a multicultural one...*”¹⁶¹

Ireland's response to a multicultural society is the establishment of a National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) and a *Know Racism* campaign. Since 1990 two particular strategies have sought to bring migrant workers to Ireland: the working Visa/Work Authorisation (WV/WA) programme administrated through the Department of Forgein Affairs, and the Work Permits Scheme administrated by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (DETE).¹⁶² On January 2008 the Irish government published the Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill, which integrates all the legislation on immigration in Ireland and represents a statuary framework of current and future immigration policies.¹⁶³ As the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform Lenihan stated, the major aims concerning these Bills are inter alia to regulate 'regular migration' into the state by providing a long-term residence status to certain categories of migrants and to prevent the abuse of the protection system.

Nevertheless, Irish immigration and integration policy and strategy have often been a major focus of criticism. Ireland maintained an open-door policy to immigrants in the context of the Celtic Tiger during the 90s and in particular in the aftermath of the European East enlargement. Among the population who is entering to Ireland are also a huge number of asylum seekers and refugees, which led to the situation that the successful granted refugee status has increased by 50 per cent from 2000 to 2005. Ireland's immigration policy has been criticized for only being market-driven (lack of protection for immigrants in relation to employment legislation) and badly coordinated between several Government Departments. Currently, in literature on Ireland's immigration, one often finds the suggestion that immigrants should not only be labelled as economic entities, but should be conceived as a population group which is endowed with social and cultural rights incorporating the human rights and socio-economic concerns. This criticism seems to be justified not only from a human rights point of view, but also looking at Ireland's demographic profile underlines how important an Irish progressive immigration policy is for the country. Among the people who

¹⁶¹ Logue, Paddy: *Being Irish*, Personal Reflections on Irish Identity today, Dublin, 2000, p.41

¹⁶² Kuhling, Keohane: *Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life*, 2004, London, Dublin, p.55

¹⁶³ Q.v. http://www.ey.com/Global/assets.nsf/Ireland/Irish_Immigration_Advisory_Services

see Ireland's migration policy as real problematic issue, is MacEinri, advisor to the Immigrant Council of Ireland. He states in this regard:

*“Immigration in Ireland is seen mostly as a problem rather than as an opportunity to compensate for growing labour shortages and for provide a new and vibrant enriching element in a hitherto relatively homogeneous society. Moreover, whereas in a country like Canada immigration is seen as an integral part of the process of nation building and admission is seen as the first stage of a managed process leading to long-term integration and citizenship, in Ireland (as in most other European countries) this is not the case. Policy to date has focused on pragmatic response to short-term labour market needs and more attention has been paid to admission than to reception and integration”*¹⁶⁴

Although Ireland's problematic relationship to immigration, migrant workers and refugees on the political level, in comparison with other European countries, Ireland's attitude towards immigrants is reasonably tolerant. The National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (an independent expert body, which was established in 1998 in order to develop initiatives to combat racism and effectuate an intercultural society in Ireland) in its survey found that the levels of reported racism in Ireland tend to be lower than in rest of Europe. This has also to do with the fact that the educational qualification of the immigrants in the labour force can be regarded (the study refers to the time period until 2003) as higher than that of the native work force¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁴ MacEinri, 2002, pp. 17f, in: Kuhling; Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, London, 2007, p. 54

¹⁶⁵ Survey on the immigrant work force shows chiefly the following tendencies: immigrants tend to be less likely in the top three occupational categories; an exception demonstrates only immigrants from UK or US. Also immigrants from Central or Eastern Europe are comparatively in unskilled jobs that only pay around the minimum wage. q.v. in Hughes, McGinnity, O'Connell Quinn: The Impact of Immigration in: Fahey, Russell, Whelan: Best of Times? The Social Impact of the Celtic Tiger, Dublin, 2007, p. 226-227

	1995	2003	Change
It is impossible for people who do not share Ireland's customs and traditions to become fully Irish	45.0	51.2	+6.2
Ethnic minorities should be given government assistance to preserve their customs and traditions	52.1	42.2	-9.9
It is better if minority groups adapt and blend into the larger society	59.7	65.9	+6.2
Immigrants improve Irish society by bringing new ideas and cultures	75.5	56.6	-18.9
Immigrants increase crime rates	13.1	39.6	+26.5
Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Ireland	37.9	44.1	+6.2
Immigrants are generally good for the Irish economy	56.7	38.0	-18.7
The number of immigrants to Ireland should be reduced a lot/a little	21.0	57.5	+36.5

The table illustrates the percentage of respondents who agree with Statements to attitudes to Immigrants¹⁶⁶

Scientific literature often suggests that Ireland despite having a multicultural economy lacks a multicultural society based on cultural pluralism. For Kirby, Gibbson and Cronin, Ireland's perception of itself as modern, liberal, progressive and multicultural displays a nothing more than a new reinvented project

*"...in order to win international acceptance, but that is new, reinvented Ireland is based on the repression of historical memory and a denial of many aspects of Irish history, in particular, the Irish experience of trauma, diaspora and colonisation."*¹⁶⁷

O'Toole conceives contemporary Ireland in a similar way:

*"(Ireland)...has become postmodern without ever having managed to become modern, but to imagine that our 'great leap forward' has produced a multicultural, cosmopolitan healthy civil society is mistaken, naïve or deeply ideological."*¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Phádraig, Hilliard: Changing Ireland in International Comparison, Dublin, 2007, p.37

¹⁶⁷ Kuhling, Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, London, Dublin, 2004, p. 66

¹⁶⁸ Kuhling, Keohane: Cosmopolitan Ireland, Globalisation and Quality of Life, London, Dublin, 2004, p. 55

Ireland has experienced its global identity not only by the influx of immigrants, but also by being member of several international institutions and consequently having the opportunity to act internationally and perform its own national identity by shaping its foreign policy. Contemplating Ireland historically, Irish foreign policy from independence to 1958 focused on coming to terms with statehood, independence and the fight against the partition. Ireland's decision for neutrality by not entering NATO derives from the viewpoint to ensure Irish security. From 1958 on, external policy was heavily centred on a substantial engagement with the EU, as membership was seen as assurance for Irish prosperity. With the entry into the EU at the same time as United Kingdom, once more Irish foreign policy was characterised as a consequence of Ireland's relationship with the neighbouring island. Understandably, Ireland's foreign policy in international institutions such as the Commonwealth, the League of Nations or the United Nation is described as answer to its own colonial past

*"...the Irish state pursued principles related to the equality of states in international law, the right of national self-determination, the pursuit of collective security, opposition to colonialism and support for international justice, and all beyond the framework of immediate national 'interest'. In other words, Irish policy...was often and visibly rooted in the concept of justice and rights which derived from an ideal vision of the international system."*¹⁶⁹

Especially the tradition of Irish peacekeeping and the creation of Bilateral Aid Programme through the United Nations are evident. From 1973 until the late 90s Ireland showed a committed involvement in European integration. In 2000, a shift in attitudes towards the EU, provoked by certain parts of the political elite and by a major part of the electorate introduced a new chapter of Irish foreign policy. Many authors refer to the transmutation of the Irish definition of the British 'other' to the European 'other'. As the table below illustrates, Ireland at the beginning of the 21st century belonged to those populations within the EU, which has the highest pride in its own country. Many authors often have claimed that the new Irish self-consciousness was linked to the economic growth of the Celtic Tiger. The financial crisis, which started to hit Ireland nearly two years ago (which according to many experts was for the most part self-inflicted due a housing bubble and a disastrous banking management of the two biggest Irish banks), opened a new chapter of the Irish self. The fact of the absence of

¹⁶⁹ Tonra, Ben: Global Citizen and European Republic, Irish foreign policy in transition, Manchester, 2006, p.34

widespread protest in the Republic of Ireland commented Mary Fitzgerald in *The Guardian* in the following way:

*“Much of the answer, I believe, lies in how Ireland’s dramatic social and economic transformation over the last 20 years changed the broader national psyche. Consider that Ireland went into the 1990s as one of the poorest, most underdeveloped countries in Europe – and emerged one of the richest. For so long used to being the poor cousin to Britain, its wealthier, more powerful neighbour, suddenly Ireland was a player on the global scene – and this bred a new sense of national confidence. Equally, though, because patriotic pride was so intimately linked to economic success, the sudden downturn was felt, keenly, in terms of collective shame and chastisement – and a fear of a return to the ‘bad old days’. It may be this fear, above all else, which accounts for the muted response to the regime’s disastrous policy choice.”*¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Fitzgerald M. in : The Guardian: in : www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/seealso/2010/10/daily_view_irelands_bank-bailo.html

Conclusion

“Which particular social units come to be viewed as ‘nations’ is historically contingent, as is the determination of the ‘essence’ or substance of any national identity. Furthermore, an adequate theory of nationalism recognizes not only that national identity and solidarities are invented, and thus subject to change, but also that nationalist principles of social organization (i.e. similitude and boundedness) are themselves contingent and not inevitable, natural or normal”¹⁷¹.

“Ich verabscheue jede Art von Nationalismus, eine kurzsichtige, ausschließende Ideologie- oder vielmehr Provinzreligion-, die den geistigen Horizont beschneidet und ihrem Schoß ethnische und rassistische Vorurteile versteckt, indem sie den zufälligen Geburtsort zum höchsten Wert, zu einem moralischen und ontologischen Privileg erhebt. Neben der Religion war der Nationalismus Anlass für die schlimmsten Gemetzel der Geschichte, wie die beiden Weltkriege und das aktuelle Blutvergießen im Mittleren Osten.”¹⁷²

The longing of ‘identity’ is an anthropological fact of unquestionable validity for both society and the single individuals: every one of us wants and has to know, who he/she is. The category ‘national identity’ as a postulate for the social community has again become crucial for post-modern societies. Nationalism –as mentioned above- emerged as a product of European history of the 18th and 19th century, hence little wonder that national identity became its first contours in a time in which the collective consciousness was conditioned by specific social circumstances. Constituted on an imaginative level, national identity refers to a complex system of meanings and as such it strengthens the sense of a political community over a certain period of time. The globalised world provoked a new resurgence of the category ‘national identity’ and therefore it would be simply wrong to attest that national identity is an anachronism. Whatever the importance of national identity in the political discourse of the single states may be, the old category ‘national identity’ and nationalism as an ideology still matter to the current society and to the current political discussions.

Starting to analyze the Irish history, one first of all must sum up that the idea or the vision of the Irish nationhood (in contrast to nationalism as an ideology) in Ireland has a long tradition. From the seventh century to the twelfth, the Irish elite invented myths of origin that established the position of the Irish population amongst other peoples. Since Ireland in this period of time was a kingship, the Irish identity was closely linked to the myths of the Irish kingdom in combination with the remarkable flowering of Christian culture and medieval Irish literature. This idea of nationhood found an unfulfilled revival in the seventeenth

¹⁷¹ Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology, London, 1987, p. 345

¹⁷² Mario Varga Llosa in his Nobel prize acceptance speech 2010 in Llosa, M.V.: Der Geschichtenerzähler 2001, Vienna, p. 304

century, when the Gaelic-Irish and the Old England in Ireland tried to claim together an Irish Catholic nation based on the Stuart monarchy.¹⁷³

Ireland gained its independence from Britain in 1921 and during its struggle for independence the Irish population had to face different challenges in order to found their own nation-state. The English policy decisions in general and especially the social changes (famine, actions against Catholic emancipation, state's support of landlordism) that took place under the British legislation after the Union in 1800 provided a huge amount of exploitive material. Even if Ireland during history was always marked by invasions, the 700 years lasting colonization through the English crown can be regarded as the crucial occurrence in Irish history. The consequences of the political decisions of the Union transformed Ireland into a country which lost its native language, the economic conditions didn't allow the promise of prosperity and legally incredible disadvantages for the Catholic majority. Little wonder that the Irish cultural traditions nearly vanished.

The history of Ireland in the course of time (at least the last 250 years) can be defined as a fight for self-determination on various levels: politically, economically, religiously and culturally. Undoubtedly nationalism performed a key role in this attempt. In the first phase of national thought (which this paper dates from the end of the 18th century to the founding of the state in 1921), colonialism and independence are the significant and inevitably decisive terms. The Irish self-determination was articulated differently in regard to its authors and to its content during the struggle for independence, but can generally be summed up as the demand for recognition of their national community in terms of a secessionist national identity. The Irish national identity has to be interpreted as the demand for a sovereign autonomous nation-state on a basis of democratic institutions in particular in this first stage of Irish nationalism. Reviewing Irish history, Irish nationalism concealed many obstacles, politically and imaginatively - as the previous chapter show - but it remained an important pre- as well as post- independence project. Irish nationalism over the years was certainly not always uniform and homogenous in its nature moreover it emerged from different historical conditions and resulted in various demands and conflicts.

British imperialism and the British attempt to assimilate Ireland into a British state (even though Britain's colonialism policy in contrast to French never entailed to eradicate the

¹⁷³ O Corr  in: Nationality, Nation, Nationalism, in: Emancipation, Famine & Religion: Ireland under the Union, 1815-1870 In: multitext.ucc.ie/d/Nationality_Nation_Nationalism

colonial nationalities) left deep marks in the Irish consciousness (for instance, - as mentioned - Ireland lost its Gaelic native language). Looking at Ireland's history in regard to nationalism as a political ideology, the 18th century seems of special interest, since it represents the beginning of the Irish to unite themselves into social and political organisations with the aim to fight for their independence. At the beginning of the 19th century with the introduction of the Act of Union, the fight for independence became in a certain sense more 'institutionalized': different mass movements, political organizations and associations like the Catholic Association, the Gaelic League, the Society of United Irishmen, the Irish Republic Brotherhood of 'Fenians', the Irish National Land League and the Irish Nationalist Party were the significant stakeholder for establishing the Irish Free State in 1921 and the introduction of the constitution in 1922.

In the 19th century the fight for independence and the increase of nationalist resistance could be defined definitely as anti-colonial nationalism with visions of the revival of the rural Gaelic Catholic culture. Ireland's national identity of the 19th century meant an anti – colonial nationalism on the basis of ethnic-cultural identity. The formidable challenge of the different Irish advocates of nationalism was the fact that they had to mobilize not only very different kind of peoples, but also a rough political landscape in a regional fragmented country. The 19th century can also be regarded as the first historical time in the Irish history in which nationalism as a political ideology could establish itself as a common reference point for the majority of the Irish population. As O Corráin states:

*“In Ireland’s case, nation and nationality are old, but nationalism, in the fullest sense, namely, that the nation should be an independent sovereign state and that all its members, should struggle to achieve its independence and serve it, is an ideology of the nineteenth centuries, as it is elsewhere in Europe.”*¹⁷⁴

In its early days Irish 'national identity' took shape by different protagonists:

- the Gaels who represented a strong sense of cultural identity and in particular ethnic identity

¹⁷⁴ O Corráin: Nationality, Nation, Nationalism, in: *Emanicipation, Famine & Religion: Ireland under the Union, 1815-1870* In: multitext.ucc.ie/d/Nationality_Nation_Nationalism

- the Anglo- Irish of Old English (even if being a social minority) related to a national identity based on religion (belonged meanwhile to the Catholic community) and love of the patria
- the settlers of the 17th century or New English (also a social minority) whose colonial Protestant identity transformed into a sense of national identity based on republican ideas and the demand for equal citizenship for both Catholics and Protestants in the last quarter of the 18th century¹⁷⁵

The Catholic national identity, which has always been a feature to the Irish society became politically relevant after the Union with Britain in 1800. Since the Catholic religion was religion of 'the true Irish' (the majority of the Irish would have defined themselves as Catholic), Catholicism became a tool to express political thoughts (full rights for Catholics and liberty of religious self-expression, self-government and repeal of Act of Union). Interestingly, the Old English (Anglo-Irish) as well as the New English participated in the fight for Irish nationalism: this meant that the Irish national identity was enriched by the colonial identity of the English, which transformed their colonial identity code into a national identity. Catholicism beside Protestant revolutionary thoughts and the Gaelic ethnic nationalism played the key role. In summary it can be stated that the cultural fundus on which the Irish nationalism - until the state-building process succeeded - relied on have been race, religion and a strong sense of territorial unity and integrity.

At the beginning of the 20th century anti- colonial nationalism and cultural revival movements cumulated to one resistance program and led to the Easter rising of 1916. With the introduction of the constitution, Ireland decided to affirm its political neutrality and left the Commonwealth upon becoming a republic in 1949. Politically, Ireland had reached its long desired independence and could so organized itself politically independently which is to say that for instance Ireland's entry to the EU in 1973 was a decision made and also supported by the Irish themselves in a referendum. The colonial status of Ireland became focus even in the aftermath of the creation of the Irish Free State in particular until the entry to the EU. The national identity, which for such a long historical stage was determined by Britain's colonial power had to be defined by new contents. As Declan Kiberd puts it, in the 1920s the country engaged again in the 'reconstruction of a national identity, beginning from the first principles

¹⁷⁵ Boyce, G.: Nationalism and Ireland, New York, 1991, p. 19

all over again.’¹⁷⁶ The Catholic Church even in this period represented the common fundament of the Irish national culture: the consequences were visible in an autonomous nation-state whose national identity was coined by a conservative, Catholic, cultural anti-modern and authoritarian political system. Thus, the stage between the state founding in 1921 and the entry to the EU was marked by an Irish nationalism which lied on a strong Catholic-cultural basis in which ethnicity became a particular key word (“Ireland to the Irish” quotation of De Valera, prime minister with short interruption from the 30s until the 50s).

De Valera industrialization policies did lay the basis for a more independent development strategy: a first change occurred in the 1950 when the free trade and an outward-orientated growth policy were implemented. Ireland’s membership in the EU brought several enormous changes to the country and the perception of it. Even at the beginning of the political debates about the entry it was clear that a membership in the EU meant for the Irish not only to appear on the political stage at eye level with the old enemy, but also the possibility to an economic growth. Was the national question in Ireland in the pre- and post- Anglo-Irish-Treaty stage undoubtedly a cultural question, in the period of the entry to the EU it became endowed with economic aspects. The beginning of the technological era facilitated a secular intellectual class in particular with the settlements of American IT-corporations, which led to a new Irish economy based mainly on services. Especially at the initial period when Ireland was joining the EU, cultural conflicts occurred between the Catholic Church and advocates of a new liberal class. Even though the Catholic Church was afraid of the entry to the EU because of new secular, individualistic and materialistic tendencies, the perspective of a new self-observation could force through. While in the 1960s, Irish national identity started to be based on transnational values (first American, later European), in the 90s global parameters framed the construction of Irish identity. In this context, Gemma Hussey, a conservative politician refers to a ‘new exuberance of self-expression which the country has never seen before’ and notes the ‘new Irish appetite for expression of its own identity’.¹⁷⁷

The EU structural funds and the outward- orientated growth strategy introduced a new era of prosperity in 1990. Ireland was no longer the country of mass emigration as a consequence of the long lasting poverty, but a country with a multicultural society and by virtue of the EU and a new open economy. The stiff structure of the Irish society became substituted by a

¹⁷⁶ Kiberd: *Inventing Ireland: The literature of the Modern Nation*, London 1995, p.286

¹⁷⁷ Hussey G.: *Ireland today: An Anatomy of a Changing State*, London 1995, p. 470-471 in: Fagen, Honor: *Globalised Ireland, or, contemporary transformations of national identity* in: <http://eprints.nuim.ie/497/>

fragmentation of the cultural identity. The Irish national identity which relied until the 80s and 90s of the 20th century on the mono-cultural fundament of the Catholic Church, now developed to a national identity formula which embraced multicultural trends. In the last decades, the national question in Ireland became extended by discussion of a nation, which guarantees civic rights but has not to be necessarily including a common cultural national identity.

The detailed case study of the evolution and progress of the Irish 'national identity' can be regarded as a perfect example that 'national identity' as a concept of modernity has accompanied the political debates of the country since the end of the 18th century until today. As the preceding chapters show, the Irish national question was at the beginning influenced by the European tradition of national thought (especially influenced by the republican ideas propagandized in the French and American Revolution), but then they developed their own dynamics.

In the following the comparison of the Irish nationalism in its different historical stages with Gellner's definition of nationalism will be presented. As showed above, Gellners' concept of nationalism first of all refers to nationalism as an effect of modernization and as such is completely unintended by the actors producing modernization. While stating that nationalism is distinctive to industrial societies, Gellner argues that industrial societies rely on high culture and cultural homogenization (which correspond to the political, economic and social citizenship), since division of labour and new modes of productions conditions them. Hence, nationalism as a modern phenomenon represents the most obvious legitimacy formula for keeping industrial societies cohesive. Industrial societies bear the features of nation-building potential by guaranteeing education in a common language and the capacity of a context-free communication. Hence, nationalism invents nations rather than the other way around. According to Gellner, nationalism naturally only became a historical possibility from approximately the eighteen-century (because of the industrialization process). Standing in the criticism for its modernist and single-minded economic functionalism character, Gellner's theory on nationalism doesn't give answers why some cultures achieve the level of nation building and others don't.

Ireland had to bear not only the colonial oppression, but it was ‘cut off’, which is to say, that it experienced modernity through an English transmission. Culturally, this situation had even a more dramatic impact. As Welch Robert states:

“...Ireland didn’t have a system of representation in the larger society that could reflect their way of life and show it to be of value... so the tendency to invent ceaselessly, to contradict, to venture as many versions as possible, anything rather than try to face the absence, the emptiness, the lack of continuity.”¹⁷⁸

Nevertheless, Irish nationalism found its origin with the beginning of modernity. Even Ireland didn’t go through a process of industrialization during the 19th century, tendencies of cultural homogenisation can be seen as new characteristics in Irish society. In contrast to Gellner, nationalism in Ireland was not about a high culture imposed by a ruling class or the state. The cultural basis of Irish nationalism in the 19th century was certainly the Catholic Church, which was in the distinguished position to find the ideological basis for the biggest part of the population, the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic League. All of these three organizations were crucial for the Irish national self-consciousness. But they did not represent institutions to provide high culture, on the contrary, in some sense cultural homogenisation in Ireland was achieved from below. In this case the notion ‘popular culture’ rather seems to be adequate. The fight for cultural and national homogenisation for more than a century came from the population itself who tried to find their roots in order to peel off the colonial authority. Thus, cultural homogenisation was never imposed by the representative political system.

Nationalism in Gellner’s sense as a modern phenomenon distinctive to industrial societies can’t be affirmed fully regarding Ireland. As said above, Irish nationalism surely can be regarded as a consequence of modernity, but it would be wrong to state that the Irish nationalism relied on the historical and societal change provoked by industrialization. While other European countries between 1815 and 1914 faced the industrial revolution, Ireland was poverty stricken, experienced famine and mass emigration. Ireland during the 19th century was still an agrarian economy and the industrialization slowly developed. Not only the slow and tardy development of the Irish industry must be noted, but also an industrial decline in the 1840s and in the following decades after a relatively good start at the beginning of the 19th

¹⁷⁸ Welch, Robert: Changing States: Transformation in Modern Irish Writing, London, 1993, p.16

century. As figures show, by the 1821 census 1.17 million people were registered as 'chiefly employed in trades, manufactures, or handcraft', while the 1841 census shows that nearly three-quarters of all families were 'chiefly employed in agriculture'.¹⁷⁹ Ó' Grada in this context even speaks about the fact, that the new inventions of the Industrial Revolution caught on quickly in Ireland (cities and town contained hundreds of factories), but faced later, during the 19th century a miserable decline.¹⁸⁰ While Ireland was divided in a wealthier and much more industrialized North (some believe the reason would to find in the Protestant ethic claimed by Weber, others like Joseph Lee regard the unprofessional ethic in South Ireland as a main reason for the failure of business dynasties to emerge¹⁸¹) and the more rural and agricultural South, generally it can be said that Irish peasant society remained agriculturally dependent and no such tendencies as huge urbanisations would have taken place. As Joseph Lee states, while flight from the land became widespread throughout the Western European countries in the late 19th century, the Irish experience was peculiar mainly because it involved higher emigration and lower internal migration.¹⁸²

There was never an Irish industrial society during the 19th century, industrialization as a process (as a political successful strategy) in Ireland only started slowly in the 20th century: for example, in 1922 only ten percent of the workforce in the Free State were employed in fabrics, while in Northern Ireland nearly 40 percent. Generally, historians have listed several reasons why most of Ireland failed to industrialize in the 19th century: the famine which initiated a transformation of social structure, mercantilism that preceded the Act of Union and the imperialism of free trade that followed it, Ireland's paucity of natural resources, the lack and the absence of knowledge of private enterprise.¹⁸³ In contrast to Dublin for example, Belfast economic progress after 1848 was increasing due to immigrant businessmen, which Dublin and generally the South never had. Joseph Lee claims about the Irish economic conservatism:

"The fact that no investment banks emerged in Ireland partly reflects the conservatism of the business community, dominated by the English concept of banking, developed to cater for and

¹⁷⁹ Ó Grada: Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939, Oxford 1994, p. 308

¹⁸⁰ Ó Grada: Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939, Oxford 1994, p. 274

¹⁸¹ Lee J.: The Modernisation Of Irish Society, 1848-1918, Dublin 1989, p. 17

¹⁸² Lee J.: The Modernisation Of Irish Society, 1848-1918, Dublin 1989, p. 9

¹⁸³ Ó Grada: Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939, Oxford 1994, p. 314

economy endowed with an adequate supply of business capacity and therefor unsuited to Irish requirements.”¹⁸⁴

In line with Gellner, the Irish nationalism may have found its origin in the fact that Ireland was an educated country with the beginning of modernity. The start of the Irish education system can be dated in 1831 by a vision of Lord Stanley of a national school system. The literacy rate rose from 1841 when 47 per cent of the population claimed to be able to read to 53 per cent in 1851 and 88 per cent in 1911.¹⁸⁵ In practice, the Anglican, the Catholic and the Presbyterian each fought to mold the national education system. Until the end of the 19th century (1892), poor student attendance (the reason is to be found in the school fees) impeded a mass education of the population. Chiefly the Roman Catholic Church leaders used the power of education in order to combat the influence of the Church of Ireland. In this regard, the name Cardinal Paul Cullen should be mentioned: Cullen’s attempt to convert the national school system to Catholic schools succeeded so that at the beginning of the 20th century the Church and the government were the only two bodies to make education policy. This fact should help to strengthen the Irish self-consciousness. As the historical events show, in Ireland’s case it would be inappropriate to speak about the need of an education in a common language and the capacity of a context-free communication caused by the demands of the industrialization. As mentioned above, the industrialization process of Ireland took place only later, national identity demands and nationalism as an ideology existed well before. The argumentation that industrialization initiated a mass education system in a common language would be simply wrong for the Irish situation. As a consequence it has to be stated that in regard to Ireland, Gellner’s theory on nationalism shows its weakness: too functionalistic by not providing information about the rise of nationalism in pre-industrialized countries.

¹⁸⁴ Lee J.: The Modernisation Of Irish Society, 1848-1918, Dublin 1989, p. 20

¹⁸⁵ Lee J.: The Modernisation Of Irish Society, 1848-1918, Dublin 1989, p. 13

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Abstract

Mittelpunkt dieser Arbeit bildet der irische Nationalismus in seinen Ursprüngen bis in die gegenwärtige Zeit, in der Irland die koloniale Geschichte hinter sich lassen konnte und sich als souveräner Nationalstaat in der internationalen Staatengemeinschaft eingliederte. Der Fokus der Arbeit richtet sich insbesondere auf die Rolle des irischen Nationalismus (geprägt durch unterschiedliche nationale Vertreter) für die Staatsgründung Irlands 1921 und in der Folgephase der Bedeutung des Irischen Nationalismus bis zum Eintritt in die Europäische Union. Diskutiert wird in diesem Zusammenhang das Konzept der 'Identität' in seinen unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen: 'nationalen Identität', 'kulturellen Identität', 'ethnische Identität', 'koloniale Identität' 'post-nationale Identität'. Die Forschungsfrage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen Nationalismus und dem 'nation-building'- Prozess wird also erweitert mit dem Konzept der 'nationalen Identität', seinen unterschiedlichen Inhalten und Vertretern im Laufe der Geschichte Irlands. Verschiedene vorgestellte Nationalismustheorien verhelfen dem Begriff der 'nationalen Identität' zu seiner Definition.

Abstract

In this paper the Irish nationalism takes centre stage: from its origin up to the current times in which Ireland could release itself from the colonial history and become a sovereign nation-state embedded in the international community of states. The focus of this thesis is to question the role of the Irish nationalism in terms of different Irish national advocates for the founding of the state in 1921 up to the stage when Ireland joined the EU. In reference to those questions the concept of 'identity' will be discussed in its various manifestations: 'national identity', 'cultural' identity', 'ethnic identity', 'colonial identity', 'post-national identity'. The research inquiry which questions the relationship between nationalism and the 'nation-building' process will be expanded by the concept of 'national identity', its different contents and advocated over the course of time. Different theories on nationalism help provide the definition to the notion 'national identity'.

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